

Hermes

BY THE STUDENTS OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY IN MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

Volume 5, No. 4

April 6, 1978

Wes And South Africa

By JOHN BARKER

This weekend, the Board of Trustees will decide on some policy of social responsibility concerning Wesleyan's investments in banks and corporations which do business in South Africa. Whether this policy will be powerful enough to affect the black population of South Africa is up to students, faculty and staff at Wesleyan - the Board of Trustees and its Social Implications Subcommittee will not make or accept adequate policy proposals unless they are pressured to do so. The reasons for this situation are discernible in the interests of the multinational banks and corporations which are the subjects of demands for divestment.

South Africa's post-World War II economic development has depended on foreign trade, mineral resources and the official government policy of separate development for separate "races" - *apartheid*. The government strictly manages South African economic development through the sponsorship of parastatal corporations - state business enterprises key to the growth of the economy. The government's share in basic fixed investment in the economy now totals almost half of all such investment, after having increased

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CRSGW: Now, It's Our Turn

By ELIZABETH SANDERS

Next semester "shop-around" will last only six class days. In a single faculty meeting the issues of discontinuing preregistration and shortening the two-week shop-around period were raised, discussed, and voted on without the knowledge of a large percentage of the student body. In fact, although it was our student representatives to the Educational Policy Committee (EPC) who put the discussion on the faculty's agenda, no indication of the impending debate was made public until the Friday before the Tuesday faculty meeting. The students on the EPC claim that they were acting within their vested authority as elected representatives of the student body and that their recommendations were based on the results of a student poll conducted last fall. I wonder how representative any proposal can be if it is prepared and presented for a vote without adequate publicity. Which brings me to the larger question:

What is representative government? Is it a system whereby people hand over their political power to a select few, and in doing so relieve themselves of the burden of making their own decisions? Wesleyan's student government has run on that kind of a system for several years now. Matters of educational, budgetary, and investment policy are considered and decided upon in closed meetings by a small group of students who have little or no enforceable accountability to the student body at large. Announced decisions are often final and unqualified, leaving dissatisfied students no effective channels for dissent.

Making decisions that affect all of us as Wesleyan students should not be considered a burden. On the contrary, it is our right (and responsibility) to have a say in those decisions — which is why student committees exist in the first place. But a student committee is no more representative of student opinion than a faculty or administration one unless the elected students communicate with their electorate. A committee is responsible for holding meetings and making sure that their business is taken care of, but interested students should be given adequate opportunity and encouragement to provide additional insights and opinions.

The present College Body Committee (CBC) has been experimenting with meeting and decision-making policies that encourage more participation in government. Open meetings invite everyone to get involved in CBC business. The agenda always allows time for individual as well as routine business, and all decisions must be made in these public sessions. The problem of

participation continues, however, partly because the value of student input has been ignored for so long that people don't believe their opinions will have any impact on decisions. Many students also think that once allocations are over the CBC has no other business but to distribute the money in the Small Party Fund. The fact is that although the most powerful action of recent CBCs has been to oversee the spending of the College Body Tax, there is no other group recognized by the administration as the official voice of the students. This semester's CBC would like to utilize that recognition and speak out on some of the issues that concern the student body, but five people cannot possibly do all of the work such action would require. Outside support in the way of research and publicity is necessary for the CBC to accurately and adequately represent student opinion.

Built-in structural difficulties severely limit the present student government's potential for effectiveness. Communication between the various governmental committees (CBC, EPC, Student Affairs Committee (SAC), Library Committee, Student Trustees) is minimal, and neither suggested nor required by the Constitution. Issues that cross jurisdictional lines either cause duplication of effort or, more often, are overlooked entirely. Students often don't know where to direct specific concerns and questions they may have about campus affairs. The only group set up to handle such problems, the Student Union Core Committee, is severely handicapped by its lack of recognition by the administration.

There will be an open, informational meeting about the CRSGW proposal TONIGHT at 7:00 in 107 Shanklin. Please come with any questions you may have about how the new constitution would work.

Frustrated by the lack of communication and accountability between the Student Body and its official spokespeople, students from many perspectives of the problem joined together last semester to form the Committee to Restructure Student Government at Wesleyan (CRSGW). The goal established by the Committee was to draw up a proposal for a student government which would encourage the participation and support of the Wesleyan community. Part of the resulting proposal is a redistribution of responsibility, but the most dramatic change that it calls for is in the

realm of accountability. All committee members would first of all be members of the Wesleyan Student Assembly. The Assembly would provide a forum for discussion of cross-jurisdictional concerns and matters of general policy. It would also serve as a single, strong voice of the student body which would echo through the actions of the various committees. The administration would not be able to ignore the demands of the Assembly in the same way that it now puts off the varied concerns of individual committees.

Wesleyan Student Assembly meetings would be open to the community for observation and participation. Representatives would make the decisions, but their constituents would be allowed to voice their opinions and see how their elected officers vote. Provisions have been made for the recall of any representative by two-thirds of his or her constituency. The new structure would make campus government more accessible because their would be more representatives, most of whom would come from geographical districts. Students would have officers living nearby with whom they could share concerns and information. Assembly meetings would bring together people with many different perspectives on campus life and politics. The problem of where to go and whom to ask would be solved by having an assembly coordinator who could refer students to the proper people or committee. The concern could easily be brought before the Assembly as a whole where it would most likely fall within the sphere of influence or expertise of some officer present.

Ultimately, the success of any form of representative government depends upon the enthusiasm not only of the officials elected but of those people who are affected by their decisions. Wesleyan's present governmental structure does not lend itself to such enthusiastic participation by the student body and we have all suffered as a result, from a shortened shop-around period and insufficient funding of some campus organizations to the difficulties encountered by those who call for divestiture from South Africa. The proposal we are being asked to vote on this semester is an attempt to awaken a sense of self-importance and responsibility in an understandably apathetic student body. I suggest that we support the CRSGW proposal, not only with our votes but with active participation in a government that respects the value of each individual's insight and contribution. There is potential here for a truly representative government if we are all willing to make it work. ■

CSIS: In Search Of A Sponsor

By EILEEN MENDEL

Three years ago, in the fall of '75, the College of Science in Society (CSIS) enrolled its first class of students with the mutual understanding that they would be exposed to a "liberal arts" education in its fullest sense. Virtual "guinea pigs" to the new experimental program, the members of the class of '78, will be the first to graduate from CSIS.

However, the college, presently, faces a potentially serious problem the nature of which calls into question the continued existence of the program. To avoid cutting into the University's financial resources, CSIS was established as an independent program responsible for its own funding during its initial five-year "testing-ground" period. After this primary phase, the University itself is responsible for finances. According to CSIS Chairman Earl Hanson, from the beginning, CSIS has been funded by a National Science Foundation (NSF) grant of \$372,400 to be spent over a period of three years. Of that sum, \$260,000 has been used for operating costs financing seven part-time faculty members, an office staff, supplies, and visiting lecturers. The remainder has covered overhead costs, mainly building maintenance fees including heating and electricity. With the grant due to expire this August, CSIS must seek funds for the remaining two years of its trial period.

In December, Professor Hanson filed a preliminary application with NSF for a second grant under a program called "Development in Science Education (DISE). Of all of the programs available, DISE coincided best with the qualifications to the CSIS program. Without word from NSF for nearly an entire month, Prof. Hanson phoned NSF in January and was notified that DISE lacked sufficient funds to offer CSIS. Missing the deadlines for alternative NSF programs, the college is presently negotiating with private

organizations to raise the needed funds. At this stage, the department is optimistic that funds will be acquired and finds no reason to worry. In a recent phone conversation, Hanson said that "we have been encouraged by a large foundation that support will be given to the program. The final decision will be enacted during the summer by their Board of Trustees." Meanwhile, CSIS is making long-range plans with NSF for funding for the following years.

With regard to the merits of the program itself, Mark Roseland, one of three members of CSIS's first graduating class, believes that the program is "good and essential to Wesleyan if Wesleyan is going to break out of its ivory tower role." Interested in social ecology, Mark, as a freshman, had not been satisfied with the fragmentation of his Wesleyan education and its inability to satisfy his interests. However, when CSIS evolved at the end of his freshman year, Mark reconsidered staying at Wesleyan because CSIS offered an interdisciplinary program in which people could relate to each other from different perspectives.

Mark entered the college in his sophomore year with fifteen other students. By the end of that year, several students either took a leave or dropped out of the program so that only five remained. Two of the five are now on leave & three will graduate this year. Mark attributes this high attrition rate to the program's inability to satisfy the needs of those students demanding a more conventional education.

"One of the department's biggest problems," says Mark, "is that it doesn't have its own faculty. Its professors are from other departments with interests in broadening their perspectives." CSIS professors include faculty members from the Biology, History, COL, English, and Sociology departments.

In an evaluation of the program made

last year, Mark commented that science was rarely approached from perspectives other than the scientific. The interaction of the social world and science was seldom considered. He noted that "society, more often than not in CSIS, means middle-class, white, and male. I think this is one of the critical weaknesses of the program. We do not leave the colloquia understanding dominant social themes of patriarchy, class conflict, racism, or ageism. As science and technology effect various people in different ways, this point cannot be over-emphasized."

Another major concern in CSIS, according to Mark, is the lack of student input in faculty hiring and in the specific areas the program should focus upon. As he sees it, a joint student-faculty hiring committee would be able to guide the program to better fulfill the educational desires of the students.

One primary asset of the program is the "Visiting Scholar's Program". Every semester one or two "Visiting Scholars" address the university community and meet with students privately and in classes for several days. Also, once a week, guest speakers are invited to talk on various topics at department lunch-meetings (in which attendance is optional.) The quality of the speakers, however, has been inconsistent.

The two-year thesis, beginning in the junior year and culminating in the senior year, is one aspect of the CSIS education that makes it different from any other. The thesis permits one to explore a subject in greater depth than would a one year thesis. Mark, in particular, through his thesis work, has accumulated enough knowledge on social ecology to design and supervise a seminar this year.

At the end of the junior & senior years, a CSIS major must also face Comprehensives, an examination, partly oral and partly written, covering two years of learning. Examiners are

chosen from outside of the University in order to evaluate the student and the department from an objective standpoint.

The Senior Colloquium, "Current Issues in Science and Society," noted Mark, is an invaluable part of the program. Unlike the first two colloquia, the Senior Colloquium integrates contemporary issues and approaches a higher level of discussion.

Presently, six to eight CSIS students are on leave, a large fraction of the department. The department encourages doing work with an organization or doing research outside the university and this has made the program more attractive to its constituents.

One concern of all CSIS majors, particularly the seniors this year, is what they will do after graduation. As there are no previous CSIS graduates to serve as examples, CSIS students are uncertain whether they will be readily accepted into the job market. For that reason, CSIS encourages double majors. In the class of '78, only one out of the three students has applied to graduate school (Columbia). He has been accepted. The others, as yet, have no definite plans. "People in CSIS," commented Mark Roseland, "aren't going to fit into a slot, but rather something they create or is created around them." In general, the holistic education offered in CSIS as a part of the modern liberal arts education is a unique and exciting experience. ■

P&E is Progressive but not Exciting

By BEVERLY BUDROW

The cover of the second issue of *Politics and Education* has a picture of a figure in cap and gown, floating in the sky. The cap, or mortarboard, a symbol of academic achievement, rests on no head; instead we see clouds where the head should be. The picture is appropriate: being a student can feel like floating in an atmosphere of intellectual stimulation, adrift in currents of philosophical, social and political thought. It's not at all unusual to immerse ourselves in theoretical analysis of, say, literature or religion without ever intending to become writers or preachers; just as it is easy to analyse and criticise our society and its effects on the individual and the world without ever putting our criticism to any use but intellectual exercise. By reporting that student activism is not dormant, and in fact can, and does influence social change, the editors of P&E are encouraging students to translate their discontent into progressive action.

The issue features articles on the job situation for college graduates and on anti-apartheid activism. "The Job Crunch: A Special Section" tells college grads what to expect when they get their heads out of the clouds and their feet on the ground, pounding the pavement, as they say, looking for work. Social scientists Stephen Dresch and Martin Carnoy dryly examine the origin and extent of the current crisis. According to Dresch, who bases his analysis on demographic trends, high unemployment and underemployment are here to stay. Carnoy agrees, but

argues that you're still better off with a college degree. Not just a critique of the present situation, the jobs section also has a useful list of resources in alternative careers, and interviews with two people active in social change careers.

Neva Seidman Makgetla analyses apartheid, the South African economy and the importance of U.S. banks and corporations there. She repudiates the claims that U.S. firms act as progressive forces in South Africa. Included in her article is a list of the major U.S. companies and banks involved. In an accompanying article two Stanford University activists describe the student community campaign which culminated in a sit-in and mass arrests last May. They also describe organizing techniques and on-going activities on campus.

In an exclusive interview, Ralph Nader discusses strategies for democratizing the university, solutions to unemployment, and the purpose of a college education. Companion pieces look at the growth of Nader's Public Interest Research Groups and Educational Testing Service. Michele Russell, a teacher and community organizer, eloquently urges teachers to relate their lessons to the realities of alienation and prejudice in the world outside of the university. The ethical and political dilemmas of universities which accept gifts from foreign dictators is examined by Joel Lefkowitz. Two recent cases involving sex discrimination in academia are reported, and along with other articles (Yale Strike,

Campus Media, Pinball, Shorts) there is an extensive resource section.

Being the only national magazine about higher education for students, P&E has a tremendous potential to raise students' political consciousness. P&E is clearly committed to social change; however if it is to be truly effective it will have to speak to students who are not already predisposed to social criticism, as well as those who share their radical perspective. There should be more concern with culture on campus, student life, college courses, teaching techniques and more about education in general. As it stands now, it will probably be read by people already in sympathy with their political views and passed over by those whose interests are not so centered on politics. The section on pinball had some promise but the editors are afraid to inject a sense of humor by being a little inventive and, God forbid, maybe even outrageous. It seems to be a problem with people steeped in political concerns that they can't laugh because most of what is amusing often can be interpreted to have negative social repercussions. If the magazine is going to reach a large and diversified student readership it's going to have to lighten up a bit.

Unlike the cover photo, the magazine has too much head and not enough body. However the magazine is still new and the editors are just beginning to establish sources of information at other campuses around the country. Hopefully, this will help to make P&E more appealing to more people.

Letter to the Editors

A Biased Bias

To the Editor:

Your article "On Science, Symposia, and Songbooks" (Hermes, March 2, 1978) deserves a response even though as one friend commented, in effect, "Hermes being Hermes, how could you expect a balanced article?" Balance is apparently not the issue since your writers admitted they had a bias which they were willing to express. The deeper question is whether or not the bias makes sense.

1) Underlying assumptions. Hermes claimed that "... the unspoken bias (of the symposium) was the following: that recombinant DNA research is accepted as a given and the risks involved are minimal or non-existent (sic) ...; that the National Institutes of Health (NIH) guidelines ... are not only sufficient but perhaps too strict; and that we, the public, are not capable of comprehending, much less making decisions on issues pertaining to Recombinant DNA research." Let me take those three points in reverse order.

The alleged assumption regarding a public that can't learn is patently false as evidenced by the fact that the first session, Friday evening's "What is recombinant DNA?" was devoted to the premise that the public can understand the basic ideas and issues regarding the

nature of recombinant DNA.

The second point was not an assumption but a point to be aired thoughtfully and responsibly. Professors Halvar Halvarson and Edward Adelberg did so. Their listeners were free to accept or reject their comments but hopefully would do so in a manner of responsible awareness, like that of the speakers.

The first point is true, I feel, including the speakers, would mean "here in its final form". The fact the symposium occurred indicates a concern that debate go forward. Regarding risk, the speakers, especially Drs. Devine, Day and Gorbach documented why they conclude the risks are minimal. (They have never claimed they are non-existent as your article stated.)

2) Issues presented. Hermes obviously wanted the symposium to discuss: Who makes the decisions which affect our lives? What is the potential for harm and corporate misuse and irresponsibility? The organizers of the symposium wanted to discuss: Risk Evaluation (Session II) and Legislation (Session III). Others might have wanted to discuss the ethics of creating new life forms. And there are yet other important issues, too.

I guess, at this point, my concerns come down to this question: Why didn't Hermes try to evaluate the symposium in terms of what it tried to do rather than in terms of what Hermes wanted done?

This is not to deny the importance of the issues raised by Hermes. Those are pressing and important issues, but they are not the only ones demanding attention. Quite explicitly, at this juncture, I wonder if Hermes' bias makes that much sense. It apparently prevented your writers from fairly evaluating the legitimate viewpoint of others because of exclusive insistence on their own priorities.

3) Speakers' viewpoints. Throughout the article Hermes insisted that "... there was little discussion..." "... there were no opposing viewpoints presented..." "The information ... was only side of this 'complicated' issue." And so on.

That is not true.

I hope you did not make the assumption that the speakers were incapable of fairly discussing more than one point of view, for they often did examine more than one side of an issue. For example, Professor Stich examined several aspects of the ethical issues he raised. Drs. Day and Gorbach did the same regarding the risk issue. And our wrap-up speaker, Dr. Maxine Singer was one of those who originally asked for a moratorium on recombinant DNA research until its risks were better understood and properly con-

trolled. My point, in brief, is this: Each speaker was conspicuously able to present balanced accounts of several points of view, and the fact that each one finally came down with a solid conclusion, where possible, does not negate that claim. It means the symposium was working in letting listeners find out how the conclusions were finally arrived at.

Dr. Davis received special attention from you. (He invariably draws the most pointed criticism since he is often the most incisive and acerbic - though mild-mannered - in what he says.) You quoted him correctly in saying that participatory democracy does not work in scientific matters. But you seriously misunderstood him where you went on to claim that he meant, therefore, "Leave the driving to us." Driving, in this case, is regulation of research and Dr. Davis stated that regulation is needed and that scientists, like any other professionals in a democratic society, are accountable to society. But being accountable, namely, responsible for the results of professional work, is not the same as deciding how to carry out the work. The former is where participatory democracy is necessary; it is not needed and often even harmful in the latter context.

To summarize, now, I would make the following observations. First, I do not see that Hermes made much sense in exercising its bias as to what the symposium should have covered. And because of that, it missed much that was important and useful regarding risk evaluation and legislation, two current, extremely important concerns regarding recombinant DNA research. Second, it is very disturbing to have evidence, such as presented in this article, of the extreme polarization that seems to define Hermes' editorial stance. It seems to imply that only Hermes can recognize the real issues; that public speakers must be either good or bad, nothing in between is possible; and even that the moral dichotomy of good vs. bad is implicit everywhere. However, the world is just not put together that way. Industries pollute the environment but also supply the skills to help clean it up. Food which keeps one person healthy can sicken another. Symposia which are a waste of time for some people are thoughtful eye-openers for others. Hermes may well have a useful role to play as moral watchdog. But that role should not be confused with balanced commentary and certainly not substituted for it.

Sincerely,
Earl D. Hanson
Convener, Recombinant
DNA Symposium
Chairman, CSIS

Arnesen replies:

It is unfortunate that Professor Hansen misunderstood much of what John McNinch and I were saying in our article. I maintain that our criticism of the Symposium is fundamentally correct.

1) We stated that an underlying assumption of the Symposium was that the public is incapable of comprehending... issues pertaining to Recombinant DNA research." Hanson rejects this interpretation and gives as evidence the Friday night session, which explained the science of Recombinant DNA. However, the public present at the lectures consisted of Wesleyan students, professors, teachers and legislators. This is not the "general uninformed public" we later refer to. I do not believe that any attempt was made to attract these people (as that was not the intention of the Symposium). I reject Hanson's assertion and proof—that our interpretation was "patently false."

The scientists at the Symposium "documented why they conclude the risks are minimal." (Hanson) This we do not deny. However, other scientists are equally adamant in opposing this proof.

2) Hanson asks us why we didn't evaluate the Symposium in terms of what it tried to do. I feel that this was done. What the sessions tried to do was to create a legislative atmosphere conducive to Recombinant DNA research. This we criticize. Those speaking against such an atmosphere were absent. Such an absence indicates a lack of debate.

3) It is our opinion that the discussion that occurred (certainly there as discussion) was not of a "critical" nature. Although some speakers were able to discuss more than one point of view, they rejected one side (the same side for all) and accepted the other. This hardly makes for "balanced accounts," as Prof. Hanson seems to think.

Regarding Dr. Davis and democracy, the regulatory process, which Davis supports, does not insure that scientists are responsible to society. Too often regulatory agencies (the old Atomic Energy Commission, the present Nuclear Regulatory Agency, and many others) are rubber stamps for government and corporate planning. And I challenge Hanson's elitist stand that participatory democracy... is not needed and often harmful in "the context of decision making regarding how work should be carried out. I wonder if perhaps the lack of participatory democracy in this area has not caused us more harm than if it were to be attempted."

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Graphics: Greg Calibey, Janet Grillo
Photography: David Gruppo, W. Victor Tredwell.

Advertising: Joel Tillingshast.

Hermes wishes to thank the following groups and individuals for their research and assistance in this South Africa insert: Marty Saggese and The Argus; Jay Kilbourne, John Barker, and the rest of the Politics and Education staff; Geoffrey Bryant; the South Africa Action Group; the United Nations Photo Library; and The Africa Fund in New York.

Hermes is a bi-weekly newspaper published by students at Wesleyan University. Offices are located at 190 High Street (2nd floor). Telephone number: 347-9411, ext. 712. All correspondence should be addressed to P.O. Box 4, Wesleyan Station, Middletown, Ct. 06457.

Hermes is printed by the Chronicle Printing Company in North Haven, Connecticut. Hermes invites all students to get involved in producing the paper. Staff meetings Friday afternoons at 4:00, at the Hermes office.

Overworked And Underpaid?

Since the Red Book budget cutbacks, some members of the Wesleyan staff have faced many problems in their working environment. In the following interviews, some administrators and staff members discuss their personal reactions to one of the most serious of these problems: job speedup.

Secretary I

Have your duties changed much since the cutbacks?

Oh, of course. They added to everyone's jobs. We've just recently got some part-time help: that's taken off some of the pressure.

You know, this office is crazy. It's calm now. If you came in here 3 weeks ago, we'd be going crazy. There's more and more work with more students and less full-time help.

Has the change affected the way you feel about your work?

Well, we can't possibly check our work the way we used to. The workload has made us like our jobs less. You can't do the kind of work you did before. There's no pride in your work like there was before. You have a different feeling going out of here.

This place is run like a business. It's not like it used to be. It was a nice place to work. I'm not dissatisfied. I like my job. I just decided a while ago that I wouldn't let my work get me down. You can't let it drive you to the ground.

I'm not stuck here like a divorced woman, say, or the breadwinner. I'm not under that kind of pressure. A lot of girls here do have a lot of work, and are stuck.

Do you have student help?

We have a lot of student help. It's fantastic, because they do a lot of our filing. The trouble is that, when we're busy, they're busy, too. The peak times are when it's hard to get students. You know, you can't blame them. That's not why they're here. Most students will call: "I can't come in today." It's just that it makes it awful hard. Someone's sick, and we'll think, "Oh, it won't be so bad because Tom's coming in." And, he doesn't show up. The administration, though, they really bank on student help.

Has your salary changed since your workload increased?

No.

Secretary II

This person's workload was substantially increased when a co-worker left and was not replaced. At this time, did your salary change?

Oh, no, I get the same pay that I had before. I said, you know, "I won't do this work for the same salary." They sent me a form and told me to list everything I did. They made a point of telling me to be very careful to list everything.

Well, what they did was, they took the list and said, "Well, this is what you have to do now," and they kept me in the same grade, the same pay. You know, I'd felt that surely I would get an increase in pay with my job so much harder. And, the process took a year and a half. How does the increase in the student body affect your job?

Well, every year they increased the number of students. Even if there hadn't been an increase in student size, I would have been overburdened. I had no additional help.

Do you have any student assistance?

Students are used, but, really they're no help at all. Some come in once a week, another comes in six hours a week. Some go abroad. Some decide to change schools. There's no way I can give the students work they can follow up on. I don't feel it's any help.

Have you asked for more help?

I've asked many times. I spoke to my boss. He never came back with an answer. I went to the personnel manager. She said, "Well, we'll do everything we can." Nothing ever came out of it.

What's happened since then?

Well, I just couldn't take it anymore. I couldn't work in the office. And, you know, when I told this to my boss, he said, "Well, what are we going to do?" Nothing about me. Just, "How are we going to get the work done?"

There was just no way I could get help. They couldn't afford to hire an assistant. It was part of the cutbacks. To pay a student, they only pay 20 percent. Someone like me, they have to pay a full salary.

My doctor said to me that I would get really sick if I kept working so much. I talked to my boss. He didn't say anything. He said, "Now, how can we get the work done?" I couldn't quit—I needed the money. You know, I feel guilty when I'm sick. I have to find someone to take over. It's up to me. To them, it's not important.

One day, I was very sick. I couldn't get out of bed. So, I called and said that I couldn't come to work. I knew that it was important to get the work done, so I called to see what I could do.

So, they said, "What do you need to do?" and drove the work over to my house. I did it in bed. I was so sick.

You know, in order that students get the same service, the burden is on us. They (the administration) don't want parents to find out what they're doing. They're making it so

overworked. It's pretty much true that the workload has increased all over the university. But, it's generally the case that no one has had to work a great deal of overtime. With the increasing workload, people have had to work a little faster. To the extent that that introduces the need for more persons, we've tried to be responsive when extra help was needed.

No one has said to me that they're being overworked. How can I know? If employees perceive themselves as not receiving sufficient support, I'd like to hear from these people about these sentiments.

I think it's important for people to be able to communicate with one another. And, to the extent that it doesn't happen, we'd like to deal with it.

About this time last year, there was a lot of discontent. I think in the intervening period, there's been a different sentiment. In the life-cycle of an institution, these things ebb and flow. There are periods that employee morale is higher. I don't think things remain constant.

Secretary III

What's your work been like since the cutbacks?

Things have leveled off since the last semester. We had a big cutback when the Red Book first came out, but people have gotten used to it. I



they can get the most money they can.

Do you think that most people feel this way about their jobs?

Yes, I think that the feeling is that people are not important. It's not just in my department. It's the same in other offices.

Richard Greene, Vice President and Treasurer, Treasurer's Office
Could you tell us about the cutback plan in terms of employees?

Well, as I recall, a few secretarial-clerical positions were to be phased out. I don't remember offhand the number of positions: 2 or 3 or 4. It was all published.

Have you been pleased with the cutbacks?

I'm not the best person to talk to. I only know about places under my position.

What about student help? Has that been adequate to help the work situation?

Students can be a help to some tasks. It's not a complete answer. Some jobs are important; they have continuity. It's beneficial to have someone with experience. It's a matter of knowing some of the idiosyncrasies of the job. But you have some jobs that don't require a seasoned hand. As the workload increases, critical work is done by employees, and filing is done by students.

Why don't you tell us about workload and personnel shifts in Accounting if that's what you're familiar with?

To the best of my knowledge, I don't think that people are being

can't think of any cutbacks within the year. People have adjusted. After awhile, you can get used to it. You have to put your priorities on a different line.

Was your salary increased?

We got a slight compensation, like, a hundred dollars for all the extra work. It was a year ago. The compensation didn't meet the added workload.

How did your work change?

When someone left, there would be no replacement. The workload would be spread out among the rest of the employees. For a period of time—at least a year—what you did was always changed. If a filing position was vacated, all of a sudden, you had to do filing along with all your other things.

It was a turmoil time. You never knew who was going to do what. There was a period of a few years working under a real strain. Now people know what their duties are because no one has left. Has your feeling about your work changed at all?

What I do has changed completely. I didn't like it at first. You got used to it. You come to work and do what you're supposed to, and go home. Before, I had more interest. I had more time for what I was hired for. Now, there are little things that take up a lot of your time.

Burton Sonenstein, Vice President, Planning and Operations

Can you tell me how you feel the Plan for Action has worked in terms of staff?

Part of the Plan for Action

was to have some reductions in staff, but the impact has been uneven. In some cases, there have been readmissions when there were too many people cut back. At the same time, we've also had an increase in the student body. It wasn't entirely clear what the workload would be.

We're trying ultimately to achieve a financially secure result. That can't come just from increased student body.

How do you make sure that people aren't being overworked?

We're committed to trying to perform as much work as we can with as little staff as possible. There was a clear message from faculty and students to have support services maintained at a minimum to keep up the educational services.

We've interviewed many employees who feel that they've been overburdened with work, that they don't feel the same way about their work as they used to. How do you perceive the work situation?

We make adjustments whenever strains are perceived. But it can't be just a matter of automatic responses to complaints. We are changing the nature of day-to-day work activities and, you know, it's a difficult transition to make if people have been doing the same routine for years and have to change. That produces stress. Expectations are greater for everyone. The Wesleyan that used to be was just an economically unsound venture.

How has student help worked out?

Student help varies in its success. Some of it depends on the time you can spend with a student. But you can't get so dependent on the student that you can't do anything if he or she leaves.

Most of the jobs I'm familiar with, the initial training should involve maybe a week or two of training. It's a hassle, but you have 920 students on financial aid who need work. The alternative—to hire more staff—would virtually undermine financial aid.

You know, there have been big cutbacks everywhere: in faculty, Physical Plant, and the administration. The largest percentage of reduction has been in the number of administrators.

We've been told that not only have employees been overworked, but also that they haven't had an adequate place to go with their complaints until very recently. Do you think this is true?

I think that this institution has an abundance of formal and informal mechanisms for complaints. You can just go to the Vice President or to Personnel or, more recently, to the Union. Informally, people have felt that they can bring their problems to people who have some influence whether it's a faculty member or an administrator or another employee.

I don't know of any situation where a problem hasn't gotten a hearing. People can just go to the President.

Are there any other places within the University where cutbacks could be made?

I think it's in the best interest of the University to act like it's acting now. The University is an entity that continues. Its endowment needs to continue. We've a responsibility to the future... to make sure there's a university here and make sure we're doing the best job we can.

We think that we've made reductions in the places that can cope with it best.

This is the second in a series of articles, written by the Workplace Committee, a group of people attempting to open channels of communication between staff and students, faculty, and administrators. If you're interested in helping out, contact Dan Wolf, Laura Gibbons, Anne Field, Nancy Winkelman, Anne Wilson, or Paul Hammer.

Do You Mind If I Smoke?

by LAUREN GOLDFARB

Author's Note: According to former SUCC president Marc Abrams, a recent student poll found almost unanimous support for a smoking ban in classrooms. About 75% of the nearly 250 respondents favored a ban in all Wesleyan facilities.

The author of this article advocating a smoking ban in classrooms is not one of those sanctimonious individuals with no appreciation of the pleasures of smoking or of the difficulties of quitting. I smoke cigarettes and have for more than five years. Another confession: I have even smoked in classes.

Recently, however, I have begun to cut down. In so doing, I have become very sensitive to the irritations experienced in smoke-filled rooms. I decided to research the question of the effects of smoking on the nonsmoker and have come up with evidence that "passive smoking" is also hazardous to one's health. I have always felt that if I wished to kill myself smoking, it was my business and no one else's. But when a personal habit affects the comfort and health of others, it is no longer a question of the smoker's rights but also of the rights of those she is affecting with her smoking.

When a smoker takes a drag of a cigarette, he lets loose a cloud of smoke containing about 70 milligrams of dry particulate matter and 23 milligrams of carbon monoxide into the atmosphere. The actual amount of material to which the nonsmoker is exposed depends upon the amount of smoke produced, the depth of inhalation on the part of the smoker, the ventilation in the room, and the proximity of the individual to the smoker.

The smoke comes from two sources: "mainstream smoke," which the smoker takes into his mouth and then releases, and "sidestream smoke" from the burning cigarette. Mainstream smoke is effectively filtered by the smokers lungs. Sidestream smoke contains much higher concentrations of tar, nicotine, benzopyrene, carbon monoxide, cadmium and am-

monia than mainstream smoke. Cigar and pipe smoke, which is never inhaled, is more dangerous to the nonsmoker than cigarette smoke.

It is the carbon monoxide, CO, emitted into the atmosphere by the smoker's cigarette that is harmful to the nonsmoker. A non-irritant, CO will not cause sneezing, coughing or wheezing. It combines with hemoglobin in the blood to form carboxyhemoglobin, COHb. It takes the place of oxygen which should combine with hemoglobin and forces the O out of the blood. This serves to make the heart work faster to obtain the oxygen it needs.

It has been shown that the level of CO attained in experiments using smoke-filled rooms has been shown to equal, and at times to exceed, the legal limits for maximum air pollution permitted for ambient air qualities set by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA.)

Experimental exposure of nonsmokers to 50 parts per million (ppm) for 90 minutes will produce an increase of 2 percent COHb in the blood. This level has been demonstrated to cause a drop in the ability to distinguish relative brightness, a decrease in correct judgements of time intervals, lessened attention to sounds and trouble with eye-hand coordination.

To give you an idea of what natural situation creates a concentration of 50 ppm of CO, one author estimated that sixteen smokers in a cocktail party in an average sized living room could easily produce 90 ppm smoking four cigarettes apiece within two hours. I am in a class which meets for two hours once a week in a seminar in Fisk much smaller than an average size living room. Of the twenty individuals in the class, ten are smokers. One day I counted 23 cigarettes smoked. It certainly created a concentration of over 50 ppm of CO.

The levels set by the EPA are 9 ppm for a maximum of eight hours concentration not to be exceeded by more than once a year and 35 ppm for a maximum of one hour concentration not to be exceeded by more than once a year. That second level is certainly exceeded every time we are in a smoke filled dorm room,

party, bar or classroom. The difference is that we can choose to be in the first three environments; whereas we do not select our classes on the basis of the number of smokers in them.

We can see that the CO exhaled by the smoker can cause various psychomotor and visual impairments to the nonsmoker, as well as physiologic stress in individuals with heart disease. Other investigations into passive smoking have determined that tobacco smoke causes eye, nose and throat irritation to allergic individuals and to non-allergic persons to a lesser degree. In laboratory studies with animals, concentrated smoke produced lung tumors, cancers bronchitis and emphysema.

Already over half the states in this country have passed laws aimed at protecting the 170 million Americans who do not smoke from the 50 million that do. In most states, it is illegal to light up in buses, elevators, department stores, theatres, museums, libraries and concert halls. Some states assign restricted areas of these places to smokers. The Civil Aeronautics Board has designated a nonsmoking section in each plane. In Oregon and Connecticut, smoking at public meetings in public buildings is prohibited.

At Wesleyan, smoking in certain sections of the libraries is forbidden. One cannot smoke in the concert halls; and it is always requested that there be no smoking in the Cinema. A Wesleyan secretary has a sign on her desk which reads: "Thank you for not smoking!"

No one likes to advocate laws restricting people's behavior. It would be nice to see students and faculty voluntarily suspend their smoking habits during class time. It should not be too difficult for 50 to 80 minutes. For the longer classes there could be smoking breaks for the real hard core. I propose that we try this for the remainder of this semester and throughout next fall. If it does not work, I advocate a ban like the one prohibiting pets on campus. Physical plant had a right to object to cleaning up after pets and it did become unsightly on our beautiful campus. But it seems to me that the danger to our health caused by smokers' air pollution is more of a reason to institute a ban than a natural animal function.



Photo by David Grupo

Carpe Diem

By RICHARD BROWN

Consider: a sunny Sunday morning, bright and early, your extra hour's sleep, occasioned by the resetting of the clocks, just burned out by the cold air. You walk through the library, dumping the reserve room book picked up at the Saturday-night-to-Sunday-morning bargain bazaar, and back out into that insistent stairwell-in-winter cold. The air and the light and the half-bare trees are too brisk and frisky to be ignored, time to try out the fieldhouse. Locked and lonely, off to the music studios. A hot lobby, stuffed in a room, underground and overworld you realize it is much too grand a day to be buried. So, off again into the sunshine.

Just what does this morning demand, what does this day want to do it justice? On Willis Avenue an answer. A voice bursts from a parked car, calling your name. An old acquaintance from

another part of the state. "Are you running today?" he asks. Now Ye are lost. Thou hast been setteth upst, a beautiful cool day, a little too much motion in the blood, a touch of pride, and Middletown, roadrunning capital of Connecticut, has outwitted you again.

Thinking back, the plot unravels. The New Times article you read last night about the two-miles-four-times-a-week man (it could be you!) Hyded fanatical marathoner was neither as funny nor as distant as you naively hoped. And you had thought it coincidence that breakfast had found you reading about Bill Rodgers. The auspices are all in accord, the cycles of nature and newsprint concur, your basketball bruised hamstrings are heading for the road.

Ah yes, the road; how that you have fallen into this madness what about the road? How long is this race? "Ten miles," he said.

My Legs: Ten Miles!
My Mind: No one will see you, you can jog it.

My Legs: Ten Miles!
My Mind: A perfect day! On a day like this your grandmother would love it.

My Legs: Ten Miles!
My Mind: Listen, jock, you've been crying about how hard you've been working for basketball, just relax and do this for the fun of it.

For the fun of it, are you nuts? Don't you remember that Thanksgiving Day five-miler we entered last year to run with Dad? You thought we were in shape. The codger ran us into the ground.

TOGETHER: Ten Miles ...!
Your independence asserts itself, why should you have to submit to the strange desires of Middletown's roads? Let others suffer from guilty consciences, from health faddism, from the pangs of disprized love, you do not have to be conned by the captain of the USN SUPEREGO. Complaining all the way you bid adieu to your demonic friend and head for your house. Out comes the wine dark sweat suit, the Frank Shorter marathon shorts, and girding up your New Balance you charge the brave towers of the Foss Hill starting line.

Clustered around line are the wraithlike figures of the enemy. Thin and hard, many burnt by the wind, men like burnished bronze spears. You drop down to the shores of the track for a warmup lap or three. Flowing like a river around the track, buoyed up by the resilience of the still cold air, you forget the pain that awaits you, that bleak reminder of limitation and mortality that will tear at your guts and loins, you forget to warm up slowly. You arrive at the head of the straightaway, your vanity appeased by the conspiring of the gods to bring you here, you decide to sprint out the lap to break out all the adhesions and scruples of your legs. The still air burns across your cheeks, the sun glares on your shielded forehead. A tendon pops at your heel.

During the long fall to the ground the events of this day, and every day ever spent in your body sprint by in montage, but they don't remain in sight as your face hits the cinders, as your hands and knees rise in a single contortion of pain. Hubris or Wyrd? Mighty Achilles retires to his tents, to watch Minnesota play the Vikings.



The Connecticut Public Interest Research Group (ConnPIRG) today announced the hiring of a Food Co-op Coordinator who will work with students to establish a network of the state's cooperative food-buying organizations "to assist them in providing high-quality, low-cost food to a larger public, especially low-income people."

Nancy Benedict, the new Food Co-op Coordinator, was instrumental in organizing the Common Ground Co-op in Danielson, and is a member of the Organization of Connecticut Co-ops.

Ms. Benedict said that her goal is to make food co-op buying more available to low-income people by increasing publicity and promoting joint buying policies by co-ops that will reduce food prices. She also is seeking interested students for internships and projects in food marketing, research and public relations. "It's the perfect way for students to help others, get practical experience, and even receive academic credit," she said. Students interested in working on the Food Co-op Project should contact her at the ConnPIRG State Office, 525-8312.

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South Africa: Special Section

An Insider Speaks: Act Now!

By LYNETTE LOWE

Should Wesleyan divest? I am going to address this question as a South African - a White South African who grew up on a mission in Rhodesia very close to the African people. Granted, the situation in Rhodesia is not exactly the same as that in South Africa, but the problems stem from the same base - a white minority attempting to dominate a black majority. I have known some of the frustration, the pain and the humiliation that the blacks feel when they are treated as second class citizens or worse in the country of their birth.

I was the only white in an otherwise all black school and I was a student at an all white school. I have seen black students - many of them - turned away from school either because they are too poor to pay the school fees or because there just are not enough schools. I have also seen white students who only stay in school because, for them, education is compulsory and free.

And now I am a student at Wesleyan - a college which, I believe, strives to support and to teach its students to support human rights and justice. Human rights and justice are violated in many parts of the world. One of these is South Africa. I would like to urge Wesleyan to divest, not only to divest but also to tell the corporations and the banks why we are divesting and have this publicized around the world.

I am not suggesting that by divesting its \$31.5 million Wesleyan will make a significant economic dent on these corporations. I am suggesting though that Wesleyan should stand up and tell the world that we are not prepared to support corporations which are in South Africa helping to exploit 19 million blacks. We are not prepared to support corporations and banks which, by their mere presence in South Africa, by their continued and increased investment in the country and by their direct dealings with the South African government are giving Vorster's regime economic and moral bolstering. We will not support corporations and banks which thus aid the regime to deny 19 million black people their freedom.

You can push a man down so far. You can oppress him and deny him his rights for so long. Eventually, though, that man will turn around and fight for

what is rightfully his. That time is coming - quickly - in South Africa. The student riots in '75, in which innocent and unarmed children demonstrated against an unjust educational system, were the first indicator that that time was arriving. Those children were shot at and killed. South Africa has a strong army, well equipped by the Western world. The country is technologically advanced - advanced enough to have already made its own atomic bomb. They are going to fight back with everything they have. They have already declared a 6-mile "no man's land" along their borders. The blacks have got no other choice if they are to ever change the system of Apartheid. As one woman said, "If half of us die at

least the other half will be free." They are willing and ready to sacrifice their lives. Would it not be selfish and self-centered for Wesleyan to refuse to make the sacrifice of divesting?

I know that divestment is a drastic action. Yet the problems of South Africa are urgent and pressing. While proxy voting, the Sullivan principles, etc. are excellent in principle, the reality is that it will take too long for these to make any marked change. I have lived in the "operational areas" or "war zone" in Rhodesia. I have known the suffering of black, yellow, brown and white in that poor land. I hate to imagine what it will be like in South Africa where the war will be much tougher, more bitter and will cost many

more lives. I know that corporations withdrawing from South Africa will hurt both black and white - in the short term. However, if that can be the first step in other global action - strong action - there is a chance that the war in South Africa may be avoided. Withdrawal of the corporations would hurt much less than a long war for freedom.

I am asking Wesleyan to tell the world that we not only realize that South Africa has problems but that we are going to do everything we can about them. I would like to see Wesleyan lead not only other universities, but the rest of the world as well, in taking action to change the situation in South Africa. For the sake of human dignity, human freedom and human life, I am urging that Wesleyan divest - now!

SISC Report In Brief

The focus of the Trustees' deliberations this weekend will be the report of the Social Implications Subcommittee of the Investment Committee. In brief, the proposal says the following:

Wesleyan's investments in banks, unlike those in other securities, are not subject to input from the community under current policy. Therefore, the SISC should be instructed to research and report on the policies of banks before the trustees decide whether or not to invest in them. "In making this suggestion, the SISC wishes to reaffirm, however, the general policy that financial return shall be the primary, but not sole, investment consideration."

The Subcommittee recommends that banks on Wesleyan's Approved List which make direct loans to the South African Government be removed from the list. Other banks would be added to the list so as not to restrict investment options, and the entire list would be subject to annual review by the SISC.

In general, the Subcommittee feels that Wesleyan should not sell stocks of companies doing business in South Africa. This is because only a small part of their profits come from South Africa, because withdrawal would make the white South Africans feel threatened and increase their oppression of blacks, and because "the

presence of U.S. companies can be a progressive force...especially if these companies are pushed by public pressure." Wesleyan would have a "right as a shareholder to exert the sort of pressure that would force them to confront apartheid in their labor practices." The Subcommittee also notes that the cost of divestment would be prohibitive.

"However," says the report, "...apartheid is the sort of case in which an active and alert stance must be taken if the University is not to compromise its integrity." Under the proposal Wesleyan would vote for

"shareholder proposals which have as their goal the undermining of apartheid," considering each case individually. The University would communicate directly with the management of companies unresponsive to stockholder pressure. If a particular company remained intractable, the University would divest itself of stocks and bonds in that company.

"The SISC believes that its recommendations regarding South Africa should continue in force until the South African government's racist constitution and laws have been revoked."

Schedule Of Events

Thursday, April 6

8 p.m.: Lecture. Philip Ewald, Executive Vice President of International Executive Service Corps: "U.S. Moral and Social Responsibility in International Affairs." 184 SC.

9 p.m.: South Africa benefit Coffeehouse, West College Dining Room.

Friday, April 7

Most trustees will arrive at about noon.

1:30 p.m. Investment Committee meeting. Green Room, Theater Studios. No students allowed. SISC report will be presented.

4:30 p.m.: Informal Meeting between trustees and SAAG. Only SAAG

members allowed. The Cinema.

7:30 p.m.: Open showing of The Rising Tide and a new movie on multinational involvement in Third World Countries. 01 PAC.

Saturday, April 8.

12 noon March to the Science Center. Behind Fisk

12:30 p.m.: Investment Committee meeting. No students allowed. Committee will vote on SISC proposal. Downey House Board Room.

2:00 p.m.: Full Board meeting, Daniel Woodhead Lounge, (184 SC).

3:30 p.m.: Scheduled adjournment of Board meeting.



Corporations

Fighting Apartheid...

Following are excerpts from the statements sent to *Hermes* by three American corporations regarding their operations in South Africa. Ford Motor Company reportedly invests between \$80 and \$100 million in South Africa, employing a total of 5,000 men and women. Ford trucks are used by the South African army. General Motors Corporation (GM), with investments of approximately \$125 million, employs more than 4,000 men and women in its South African plant. GM also builds vehicles used by the police and military. International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) employs approximately 1,500 men and women in sales and service in South Africa, with an \$8 million investment. IBM has no manufacturing facilities in that country. However, according to the Africa Fund in New York City, IBM supplies computers used for the administration of the identity card system for South African blacks.

Wesleyan currently invests more than \$1 million in Ford, more than \$5 million in GM, and almost \$2 million in IBM. All three of these corporations subscribe to the Sullivan principles.

In their letters to *Hermes*, Ford and GM said they had no plans for expanding their South African operations in the near future, but did not rule out eventual expansion. IBM did not comment on the subject. All three corporations declined to speculate on the effect on them of divestment by Wesleyan.

South African Operations

GM. General Motors does build commercial vehicles in South Africa. These are standard highway-type trucks and are not what are normally considered military vehicles. That these same vehicles can be used by the military and the police is obviously true, but that they were designed with the military or police as the end use is not true.

FORD. Because some critics claim that American investors stay in South Africa because of huge profits, I think you should know that in 1977 Ford South Africa lost money. In 1976, our profits were marginal. Despite this, for 1978 we are more than doubling our spending on equal opportunity activities over the 1977 level.



United Nations/contact

IBM. Our equipment is not used by the South African police to administer the black passbook policy. In fact, I know of no use of our equipment in South Africa that supports apartheid. A small IBM card system is used by the South Africa Department of Prisons for payroll processing, and the Defense Department uses IBM machines for administrative purposes. Every sale of IBM equipment to South Africa is in strict compliance with U.S. policies and law.

Insofar as our investment in South Africa is concerned, our assets there

represent considerably less than half of one percent of total company assets, and our South African revenues are less than one percent of our worldwide revenue. We have no way of knowing the total number of computers used by the South African government or IBM's proportion of such installations.

Employment

GM. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 allows the Minister of Labor to reserve certain work for persons of a specific race. Under provisions of the Act, certain jobs, such as supervisory positions and some types of production work, are reserved for whites; employers are prohibited from replacing a

factors. On the other hand, since most black employees are relatively new in IBM and are more likely to have trainee and entry level jobs, their average is lower than the average for our white employees in South Africa.

Benefits

GM. All employees at GM South African, regardless of race, are covered under the same comprehensive employee benefit program. The program includes group life insurance, medical, retirement, sickness and accident plans, overtime and premium payments, an annual vacation, and a contractually established year-end gratuity which currently averages just over 6 percent of base annual earnings.

To assist in the upgrading of living conditions, General Motors South African has initiated an employee housing assistance program to encourage home ownership by Colored and African people, both employees and non-employees.

GMSA AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE RATES BY GRADE FOR JANUARY 1977

Work Grade	White	Colored	African
1	—	\$.94	\$.95
2	—	.93	.94
3	—	.99	.97
4	\$1.05	1.04	1.01
5	1.17	1.12	1.08
6	1.40	1.21	1.20
7	1.35	1.35	1.32
8	1.60	1.51	1.46
9	1.79	1.63	1.62
10	2.20	1.84	1.83
11	3.12	2.51	2.19
12	3.27	—	—

white employee with a non-white or replacing a Colored employee with an African (a designation for native blacks), and employers are required to maintain certain minimum percentages of white employees.

The composition of GMSA's (General Motors South Africa's) hourly work force as of December 31, 1976 was 30 percent white, 54 percent Colored, and 16 percent African. The composition of the GMSA total work force was 48 percent white, 40 percent Colored, and 12 percent African.

FORD. Black and colored employees have been promoted into supervisory positions on the salaried staff since 1972. In 1974, there were 11 supervisors who were not white. As of January 1, 1977, there were 26. As of January 1, 1978, the number was 30. This represents 5.5 percent of the 544 salaried supervisory positions. The Ford South Africa target is 10 percent by 1981.

IBM. In accordance with IBM's commitment to equal opportunity, we have been working to increase our non-white employment. In 1969 our black South African population totaled 39, at that time 4.6 percent of our work force. As of December 1976, that figure had risen to 156, or 10.6 percent and total non-white employment stands at 14.7 percent.

Salaries

GM. GMSA has attempted to follow a program of equal opportunity for all employees, regardless of race. This concept is adhered to from the initial hiring through training and advancement and applies to wage increases, retirement, and — when necessary — separations due to business downturns.

The compensation policies of GM South African call for equal pay, regardless of race, for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time. The wage difference between the various races in the same work grade reflects seniority....

FORD. All employees now receive equal pay for doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time, regardless of race or color. This policy has been in effect at Ford South Africa since January 1, 1971.

IBM. The cornerstone of IBM's salary program is fairness to all employees — including equal pay for equal work. Salary differences for a particular job depend on performance within our merit system, not on racial

Working Environment

GM. South African law requires separate cafeteria facilities for employees of different races. Several years ago GMSA began a program to provide facilities identical in physical arrangement, decor, and menu. This has been substantially achieved.

FORD. All racially restrictive signs (57 in total) have been removed from eating, comfort and other facilities throughout our plants. The workplace throughout the Company is non-segregated. Of the 25 facilities on Company premises, 12 have become non-segregated, two are partially segregated and 11 remain de facto segregated.

Apartheid

GM. Apartheid is a policy which General Motors does not endorse. The government of South Africa is well aware of this. GM has spoken against this policy on many occasions, and it is a policy which, to the extent feasible, the Corporation is attempting to change through channels open to foreign manufacturers operating in South Africa.

GM's presence in South Africa in no way constitutes endorsement or approval of the philosophies, policies, or regulations of the government of South Africa.

FORD. Our continuing presence in South Africa should in no way be interpreted as an endorsement of all the policies of the South African Government; nor does it mean that we are equivocal in our commitment to equal employment practices, whether in South Africa or anywhere else in the world. I don't agree with the policy of apartheid. In my opinion, men and women should be judged and treated on their merits, not on the basis of such things as color, or religion, or ideology.

Ford has asked the Government Commission of Enquiry into Labor Legislation to repeal all forms of racial discrimination found in various labor laws, and has recommended to the Commission that the government establish national technical training

SULLIVAN PRINCIPLES

The following six principles were drawn up in March 1977 by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a member of the General Motors Board of Directors. More than 50 corporations have endorsed the Sullivan principles and committed themselves to achieving them.

1. Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort, and work facilities.
2. Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.
3. Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time.
4. Initiation and development of training programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.
5. Increasing the number of blacks and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions.
6. Improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.

These six principles have been endorsed by the South African government.

facilities for blacks, to qualify them for advancement into technical employment fields. The findings and recommendations of the Commission are expected to be published during the second half of 1978.

Expansion

GM. During 1976, South Africa began experiencing disturbances and political uncertainties and the country is in the midst of a recession. These conditions have had a detrimental effect on the demand for passenger cars and trucks with the result that GM South African's existing productive facilities are not being fully utilized. Consequently, the Corporation has no present need for, and has no intention of, further expanding its productive capacity in South Africa.

The single most important factor in the creation of a more promising environment

Continued on Page Thirteen

...or Profiting From It?

By LAURA SCHULKIND

General Motors, Ford and IBM, like most U.S. multinationals in South Africa oppose the withdrawal of American investment from that country. By remaining in South Africa, they say, they can serve as a liberalizing influence on the racist policies of the minority white regime. To that effect, they have all endorsed the Sullivan principles — six operating guidelines for progressive action by U.S. corporations doing business there. The reforms that the three companies describe above reflect these efforts for change. Unfortunately, both the Sullivan principles and the measures taken by the corporations to comply with them are ineffectual.

The principles and the corporations' "progressive" actions do not address the real issue of apartheid, but are instead rendered impotent by the massive institutionalized racism they claim to combat. The racism of the Vorster regime is entrenched in South Africa's laws; so long as the corporations abide by those laws, they are supporting apartheid. The U.S. corporations have made it clear that they are not prepared to break those laws. Their proposed reforms reduce an ingrained social and political system to a mere work problem. In the one area in which they could have some real influence — the recognition of black trade unions — they are strangely silent. They do not even list negotiating with black trade unions among their goals.

Not only does U.S. corporate policy fail to challenge the legitimacy of apartheid — the changes it does endorse are cosmetic at best. GM, Ford, and IBM all claim they are training and promoting blacks. However, as GM admits, the Industrial Conciliation Act seriously hampers any attempt to advance blacks. Under the Act, Africans are not defined as employees, specific jobs may be reserved

for whites, and blacks are excluded from recognized trade unions — unions which negotiate many agreements that reserve jobs for registered union members only. The power of these provisions is reflected in Ford's negligible goal of employing 10 percent black or colored employees in supervisory positions by 1981, while these groups comprise 80 percent of the population.

What the corporations fail to mention is that skilled black labor is kept to a minimum, even by their own policies. The last to be hired and the first to be fired, South African blacks are given little chance to develop their skills. Furthermore, the slight increase in black advancement is due primarily to a shortage of skilled labor. As a response to this shortage, U.S. corporations have been redefining and simplifying many jobs in order to avoid promoting any more blacks to higher paying positions.

These corporations also claim to follow — or to attempt to follow — a policy of "equal pay for equal work." Such a claim means very little. The vast majority of jobs in South Africa are divided unequally in terms of skill and wages; blacks receive low wages for the low-level work they are forced to accept. Ford explains this phenomenon in terms of "seniority." With the constant relocation and slow advancement of blacks, however, it is clear who is able to gain seniority under the white regime. IBM says it bases salary differences on "performance within our merit system." It ignores the fact that apartheid by its very nature is far more conducive to high levels of performance by whites than by blacks. To see this, one need only consider the disparity between white and black morale, diet, quality of education, and living conditions.

The minimal wage hikes received by blacks cover up the fact that the wage gap between blacks and whites has been steadily increasing. Between 1969



United Nations/Contact

and 1975, the difference between average white and black wages rose from \$259 to \$463, with blacks earning \$125 each month and whites \$589 each month. Furthermore, wage increases for blacks have been largely the product of black labor unrest, not corporate benevolence.

U.S. corporations also say they plan to improve education for blacks. This is a virtual impossibility. True, GM may

pay for the school books of its black employees (because unlike whites, blacks must pay for their children's books and must pay taxes to finance the schooling of white children). However, the quality of those books has to be questioned. Freedom of ideas is not valued by the Vorster regime, which has recently banned a major newspaper as a "preventative

Continued on Page Thirteen

Wesleyan And South Africa (continued)

Continued from cover

steadily over the past ten years.

The investment of U.S.-based multinationals in South Africa has also increased dramatically from \$140 million in 1950 to \$1.5 billion today. As a result of foreign and government stimulus, South Africa's Gross National Product grew steadily at an average rate of 6.8 percent over the twenty years preceding 1976. South African whites now have one of the two highest standards of living in the world; this condition is the key to the ability of the South African government to remain in power. For as whites prosper, the black majority — 80 percent of the population — lives in dire poverty.

Under apartheid the African majority receives less than 20 percent of the national income, while whites get 73 percent of it. At least four-fifths of all Africans receive less than enough income, by government standards, to survive. All blacks over sixteen must carry identification passes and may not travel without authorization; blacks must work in segregated quarters and are forbidden to unionize; black unemployment is now 23 percent, while for whites it is only 2 percent (it has been estimated that if South Africa lost all the jobs provided to it by U.S. businesses, black unemployment would increase by 10 percent, but for whites it would increase by over 400 percent). Black wages average about 20 percent of white wages. And the difference between black and white wages has been widening.

Half of all African children in South Africa die before they turn six; 80 percent of all African workers show signs of malnutrition; only one-fifth of one percent of all Africans graduate from high school. Africans may not own any land except in the remote, desolate and overpopulated "homelands," to which they are forcibly removed by the government; of course, blacks may not vote.

The government actively and legally engages in coercion of the black majority. One thousand people were prosecuted, every day, under the pass laws, in 1976. The Minister of Justice may ban anyone he considers subversive; he also has the power to confine "dissenters" indefinitely.

Yet in spite of severe repression, South African blacks are increasingly resisting the government's rule. Besides the much-publicized Soweto students uprising and the growing black consciousness movement, African workers have increasingly participated in strikes — in 1972, more than 50,000 workers

struck 180 factories and organizations; and in the second half of 1974, 135 strikes involving African workers took place. Importantly, most of the black leaders and organizations in South Africa now call for the withdrawal of foreign investment in order to facilitate social change there. These include: The African National Congress, the South African Students Organization, the Black Peoples Convention, the Pan African Congress, and the Organization of African Unity. U.S. investment in South Africa is one of the main props of its economic prosperity. U.S. capital accounts for 20 percent of all long-term foreign investment there — second only to Great Britain in importance. The U.S. is South Africa's largest supplier of imports. U.S. banks have mobilized over one-third of the more than \$9 billion in foreign money borrowed recently by South Africa to finance primarily oil and military imports and to offset the effects of a worldwide slowdown in foreign investment there. (After the Soweto uprising in 1976, new foreign investment almost stopped and the annual growth rate of South Africa's GNP dropped to less than 2 percent.) U.S. banks have averaged about 30 percent profit on loans in South Africa while corporations make about a 20 percent average return there.

Wesleyan now invests over \$31 million in corporations which do business in or with South Africa. We invest in nine of the thirteen largest U.S.-based companies operating there. Twelve of these thirteen — including all nine with which we're involved — supplied over three-quarters of all the U.S. capital invested in South Africa in 1972. These are clearly important investments to the South African government, not only in amount but also in purpose, and they are clearly companies which Africans would have us withdraw from in South Africa. The nine include:

- + Ford Motor Company, which has \$80 to \$100 million in South Africa and which supplies trucks to the South African police and military (Wesleyan investment, at its present approximate market value: \$1 million)

- + General Motors, which has \$125 million in South Africa and which also supplies the police and military (Wesleyan investment: \$5 million)

- + IBM, which has \$8.4 million invested, and supplies computers for the Departments of Prisons and Defense (Wesleyan investment: \$2 million)

All these companies use segregated facilities, as

required by law. General Electric and Mobil both pay starting wages to blacks below the government's standard required for survival. IBM only employs 56 blacks in all of South Africa, 49 percent of its work force there; 20 percent of Caterpillar's payroll goes to the 54 percent of its workers who are black. And these are just examples.

As for our bank deposits, as of December 31, 1977, Wesleyan had \$5 million deposited in Chase Manhattan Bank, which has the largest investments of any "U.S." bank in South Africa, and which, within the last year and a half, participated in a loan of \$300 million to the South African government.

The conditions for blacks in South Africa have deteriorated, not improved, as the U.S. has increased its investments there. And the money invested in South Africa directly detracts from the amount of investment possible in the U.S. This seriously undermines the welfare of lower income people in the U.S. — who are, disproportionately, black and Third World, and contributes to and reflects the racism which pervades our own society. For example, Chase Manhattan lends over 50 percent of its resources abroad, yet it demanded record rates of interest and cutbacks in city services before it would buy New York City bonds, in 1974-75. Also in New York City, Chase employs few black and Third World people in non-clerical or clerical jobs. Wesleyan and Middletown are another case in point.

Wesleyan University pays a small amount of money annually to the city of Middletown in lieu of the total property taxes for which it could be liable. The reason for this tax-exemption is that Wesleyan, an educational institution, should provide a "public benefit." Still we deposited \$5 million in Chase Manhattan, while the lower income residents of Middletown can't afford decent housing and can't even secure federal home mortgage money through the city unless they are approved by local banks. There's a serious need in Middletown for mortgage money on which Wesleyan could earn interest.

Wesleyan's portfolio is one of the most powerful forces for practical social change that the institution controls. Still the Social Implications Subcommittee would have the University continue to invest in most of the corporations which make money from apartheid. Wesleyan is grievously neglecting its social responsibilities with such a policy.



Who's Who On The Board?

Trustees To Act on South Africa

By ROBERT A. BERTSCHE

Months of painstaking research and sometimes heated discussions will be condensed into mere minutes this Saturday, when the trustees sit down to discuss what action Wesleyan will take concerning its holdings in banks and corporations with ties to South Africa.

Ranging in age from 28 to 63, most of them white, male Wesleyan graduates, the 27 members of the Board of Trustees wield a good deal of power over Wesleyan affairs. They elect the President of the University, and are charged by their By-Laws with ultimate responsibility for all the activities of the University—financial, academic, and administrative.

In this article, I will attempt to sketch a general portrait of the Board—its structure; its members, their occupations and, whenever possible, their views on the South Africa issue; and its agenda for this week-end. This sketch is based on information gained in interviews with members of the Wesleyan community and with 11 of the trustees themselves, as well as through research in various "Who's Who" indexes.

The Board of Trustees is normally composed of 29 men and women, although there are at present two vacancies. Of those 29 members, nine are elected by the alumni to three-year terms, and the rest by the Board itself, to six-year terms. Three alumni trustees must have graduated within the previous ten years, and another three must have graduated before then.

Most of the decision-making on the Board takes place within six committees and their subcommittees. Each trustee is the member of at least one committee. President Campbell and Chairman of the Board Philip Brown are ex officio members of all committees except

mittee, since there are no trustees on the SISC itself. Whatever the Investment Committee sends to the Board for action on Saturday afternoon will probably be accepted unaltered.

At least four trustees are connected in some way to banks or corporations involved in South Africa. Ezra Zilkha '47, Chairman of the Investment Committee, is the Chairman of the Board of Fidelity International Bank. Fidelity made two loans, in 1973 and 1976, totalling almost \$2 million, to United Air Services, a South African aircraft manufacturer, according to the Africa Fund in New York City. Zilkha is also a director of the Insurance Company of North America, and the INA Corporation, both of which do business in South Africa.

Andrall Pearson, the president of PepsiCo, Inc., which operates a bottling plant in South Africa, is also a Wesleyan trustee. Walter Gerken '48, another trustee, resigned two years ago from the Board of Directors of Security Pacific Bank, which participated in a \$42 million loan to the city of Johannesburg in 1972, according to the Argus. Gerken is a member of the Investment Committee. Finally, Edward Wilson '42 retired in December as Chairman of the Board of J. Walter Thompson Company. Thompson gave up ownership of its South African affiliate in 1936, but the affiliate still bears the same name. "We've been trying to get our name back ever since," Wilson declared recently, adding that there remain no financial ties between the South African company and its United States "parent."

In general, most of the Trustees said they felt that students were oversimplifying the issue of investment in South Africa. They expressed concern over the situation there, but were doubtful that corporate withdrawal would be a solution. Many seemed to support transferral of Wesleyan's bank deposits, but not outright divestment from South Africa-related corporations. In our conversations, the trustees continually mentioned the need to balance the moral and financial aspects of South African investment. They noted that Wesleyan tuition does not go to South Africa, as many students have claimed; tuition is used for operating expenses only, while the endowment is used for investments.

Several trustees were annoyed by the form letters they had received from students, letters which often were identical in content—to the point of repeating even the same misspellings. Furthermore, two female trustees noted that they had received numerous letters beginning "Dear Sir..." Most of the Board members said they had read the report of the South Africa Action Group (SAAG) and related articles in the Argus, and planned to attend the Friday afternoon discussion with the SAAG.

"It's very hard for trustees who are not on the campus to comprehend the mood," notes Campbell. "I think there's a feeling that the complexity of the matter is not fully understood. There's also a very real sense that there's a legitimate, humane concern here—and it's one that should be taken seriously."

The following profiles begin with the President of the University and the Chairman of the Board, those being the two most influential positions on the Board. They are followed in the list by the members of the Investment Committee, which will be directly acting on the SISC proposal, and then by the various committee chairmen. The rest of the Board is profiled in alphabetical order.

Fifteen of Wesleyan's 27 trustees appear in the 1977 "Who's Who in America." Most are leaders in business, law, or education. Ten graduated from Wesleyan between 1947 and 1953; I dub them members of the "1950 club." That club may be a self-perpetuating group to some extent since, except for the nine elected by the alumni, the trustees vote themselves in and out of office.

The Top

Colin Campbell. President of Wesleyan since 1970. Vice President American Stock Exchange, 1964-67, before becoming Administrative Vice President here. Says that withdrawal of American corporations would not be in the best interest of South African blacks. Opposes bank loans to the South African government. Supports University pressure on corporations on a "case-by-case basis," and has no objections to Wesleyan initiating shareholder resolutions.

"The Sullivan resolutions by themselves are defective in some ways. But they do represent a determination... to work for better conditions," says Campbell.

"Complete divestment would be a serious problem for the University," he adds. "I think it's virtually impossible to 'purify' your portfolio—the connections are all over, and we shouldn't kid ourselves on that point."

Philip Brown '44. Chairman of the Board since 1969. Lawyer, partner of Cox, Langford and Brown, Washington, D.C. "Very highly respected" by the Board, according to one trustee. Has summer house in Njantic, near summer house of President Campbell. In his second term on the Board.

The Investment Committee
Ezra Zilkha '47. Chairman, Investment Committee, Portfolio Subcommittee. Chairman of the Board, Fidelity International Bank (which lends to a South

African firm). Director, INA Corp. and Insurance Co. of North America (both operate in South Africa). Second term on the Board. Very influential in financial matters. Daughter is a Wesleyan student. Presently in Europe, will not be at meeting this week-end.

John Jakobson '52. Secretary of the Board. Broker, partner of Lasker, Stone, and Stern, New York City. Second term on the Board. Affable, athletic. With Brown, Campbell, and Daniel (see below), he is one of the few trustees "who really run the school," according to one source.

Lelan Sillin Jr. Chairman, Financial Planning Committee. Chairman of the Board and President of Northeast Utilities since 1970. Second term on the Board. Originally agreed to join the Board to help Wesleyan at the beginning of its financial crunch. Fairly influential, especially in financial matters. Son graduated from Wesleyan last year.

Walter Gerken '48. Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company. Former member of Board of Directors, Security Pacific Bank (which lends to South Africa). Second term on the Board. Familiar with divestment issue through a friend who is a trustee at Stanford. Questions the effectiveness of divestment.

"I don't think students should take lightly the whole idea of the investment portfolio," says Gerken. "If you diminish the return, then you either diminish the quality of education or you increase the tuition."

D. Ronald Daniel '52. Senior Vice Chairman of the Board, ex officio member of Investment Committee. Managing Director, McKinsey and Company, New York (one of world's largest management consultant firms). Close friends with Jakobson, very influential in school affairs.

John W. Bair '38. Vice Chairman of the Board, ex officio member of Investment Committee. President, Bair and Warner, Inc. (real estate), Chicago. Member, Hill Development Corp. (Campbell is director). Vice President and Director, Conference on Religion and Race. Second term on the Board. Relaxed but influential, according to one source.

Bair says he is unsure of his position on the South Africa issue. "I have a lot of reservations about whether divestment really does have any effect," he says. "As trustees, we do have an obligation to protect the endowment."

Other Committee Chairmen

Robert Cohen '43. Chairman, Education Committee. Professor of Physics and Philosophy, Boston University. Marxist. Well-liked and respected, especially in educational affairs. "He's very often cast in the position of spokesman for the Board," says one trustee.

Steven Pfeiffer '69. Chairman, Facilities Committee. Lawyer with Fulbright and Jaworski, Houston. An alumni trustee. Played a calming role in anti-war activities when he attended here. A Rhodes scholar. Gaining influence among the trustees.

Richard Sanger '52. Chairman, Student Affairs Committee. Director, Trinity Alcohol and Drug Program, Wilmington, Delaware. Director, Delaware Trust Co. An alumni trustee. Well-respected, not involved with finance.

Edward Wilson '42. Chairman, Nominating Committee. Retired; former Chairman of the Board, J.

Trustee Walter Gerken: "I don't think students should take lightly the whole idea of the investment portfolio. If you diminish the return, then you either diminish the quality of education or you increase the tuition."

Photo by
W. Victor Treadwell



the nominating committee: they can speak at these meetings, but have no vote. Usually, however, issues before committees do not come to an actual vote, but rather to a consensus. Recommendations made to the full Board by one of the committees are generally passed after some discussion, with little or no modification.

In 1969, the Board underwent some radical changes in both structure and composition. Faculty and student representatives were added, with full voting rights on the committees, and with a voice but no vote in full Board meetings. Also in that year, women and blacks were represented on the Board for the first time. Today, there are four women on the Board, and one black.

Trustees will arrive on campus tomorrow. Meetings will begin at 11 a.m., but many trustees may not arrive until the mid-afternoon or evening. At 4:30 p.m., the Board will meet informally with representatives of the South Africa Action Group (SAAG) for a discussion of the South Africa issue. After a 6 p.m. dinner, the trustees will join President Campbell for an "informal meeting."

That meeting, says Campbell, "is an opportunity in an informal setting for the trustees to express ideas and concerns to each other, and with me." No formal action is ever taken there, although the privacy of the meeting is often used to discuss administrative personnel matters and to hammer out differences on issues facing the trustees. Board members defend the meeting vigorously: "If the trustees are to function properly, there has to be an occasional opportunity for the President to let down his hair," explains one.

After a Saturday morning meeting with an investments research group, the Board will divide up for some more committee meetings and for luncheon. Then, at 2 p.m., the members will gather for their plenary session, scheduled to end at 3 p.m.

The South Africa issue has been discussed informally at some Board gatherings, but the only formal action taken so far has been by the Social Implications Subcommittee (SISC) of the Investments Committee. The SISC, composed of students, two faculty members, and the treasurer of the University, has prepared a report (outlined in another article) advocating transferral of the University's bank deposits from banks lending money to the South African government. The Investment Committee will receive that report Friday afternoon, and vote on it Saturday morning. According to President Campbell, the report is likely to undergo some revision in com-



Chairman of the Board Philip B. Brown

Walter Thompson Company (advertising). May not be able to attend meeting this week-end because of health. Favors stockholder pressure to outright divestment. "I don't think the answer is for Wesleyan trustees to just take the money out of any company that's in South Africa," says Wilson. "What happens to the blacks in South Africa if there is no business? There would probably be a lot of starvation," he adds.

The Rest of the Board

Frank G. Binswanger Jr. '50. President, Bin-

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Student Trustees Remain Cautious, Urge Other Solutions

By DANIEL MORALES

"Divestment would be an incredible feat for student activism."

- Gina Giannini, '79 student trustee, Educational Policy Committee

"People are letting the problems in South Africa take their minds and eyes off America's racial problems"

- Billy Ponds, '78, student trustee, Financial Planning Committee

Nowadays it seems that everyone has an opinion on South Africa. Above are two of the more striking comments offered by student trustees on the issue of divestment from corporations doing business in South Africa. Since the student trustees are representing student interests on the five committees that decide Wesleyan's future, Hermes asked eight of the ten student trustees for their viewpoints on this controversial issue.

All of the student trustees agreed that Wesleyan should do something about its investments in banks and corporations that do business in South Africa. The consensus seemed to be that Wesleyan should take money out of the banks which make direct loans to South Africa and put pressure on corporations to be more progressive through proxy voting and shareholder resolutions. They agreed that complete divestment now would be too much of a financial burden, but that specific time limits should be set if the corporations haven't initiated changes in South Africa.

Yet even this solution is conditional. "A reasonable time limit," said Mike Vorhaus, '79 Financial Planning Committee, "is valid only if we have a real activist Social Implications Subcommittee (a committee comprised of two students, two faculty members and treasurer Richard Greene mandated to look into the moral implications of investments with the power to vote on proxies, initiate shareholder proposals and recommend divestment to the Investment Committee of the Board of Trustees)."

"An activist S.I.S.C. could take each corporation on a case-by-case basis and judge whether divestment is a proper response to its activities. But threatening to divest is more important than outright divestment. It's

a weapon you can use to keep pressure on the corporations."

Jim Mannello, '78, a student trustee on the S.I.S.C. and Investment Committee, agreed that Wesleyan should get out of the banks and favored a case-by-case proxy voting within corporations. He agreed with the other student trustees that Wesleyan's involvement in South Africa wasn't deliberate.

"It's not a malicious investment," Mannello said, "A very small percentage of Wesleyan's money goes into South Africa if it goes there at all because the big corporations only have a small involvement there. Wesleyan shouldn't be condemned."

A big issue raised by the S.A.A.G. was Wesleyan's investment policy which regards financial considerations more important than moral criteria. Pat Kocian '80, a student trustee on the Social Affairs Committee, agreed with the other student trustees that Wesleyan would be hard-put to find a completely moral corporation to invest in and yet still make money.

"The investment policy, allows shelter from common passions, but," Kocian pointed out, "when the implications are significant such as South Africa, it's appropriate to transcend fiscal considerations or self-identification as a progressive institution will be just a pretense."

Jim Brenner, '79, a student trustee on the Facilities Committee, also took issue with Wesleyan's investment policies, but for a different reason. "Wesleyan only gives 1 percent (\$1 million) of its money to community businesses," Brenner said, "It should be investing more in these rather than putting everything in giant corporations that do business in foreign countries."

On the whole, Wesleyan isn't exactly progressive in its investment policy, Brenner feels. "While we can't afford to lose \$200,000 in symbolism," Brenner said, "Wesleyan hasn't even advocated change through shareholder resolutions nor when such resolutions have come up has Wesleyan voted for them."

Joel Tillinghast, '80, a student trustee on the S.I.S.C. and Investment Committee, also believes that Wesleyan could be more active than it has in pursuing change. He discredits the claim that lack of funding for research is preventing Wesleyan from initiating

shareholder resolutions.

"We could run a class on research," Tillinghast said, "for writing resolutions and seeking alternative investments and give credit for it. The argument that the cost for research would be prohibitive doesn't take this into account. It's ridiculous, it regards activism as a burden." Tillinghast felt that the S.A.A.G. should continue next semester and keep pressure on Wesleyan so it will, in turn, keep pressure on the corporations.

But Billy Ponds, '78, a student trustee on the Financial Planning Committee, felt that the students were misguided in their efforts. He agreed with the other student trustees that another institution would pick up the stock should Wesleyan divest without hurting the corporations at all, especially since Wesleyan has such a small share in the corporations.

"Although I agree with the idea of divestment," Ponds said, "I wonder if people are letting the problems in South Africa take their minds and eyes off America's racial problems."

"To some extent, America is a racist society. What can one racist society do to change another? If people are using South Africa as an escape route to ignore America's problems, then one needs to examine the ends toward which student activism strives."

Gina Giannini, '79, a student trustee on the Educational Policy Committee, disagreed, believing that student activism was achieving worthwhile things. Although she felt that divestment wasn't feasible now, she believed the implications divestment would have would be enormous.

"Divestment would be an incredible feat for student activism," Giannini said, "A big school like Wesleyan divesting could be a catalyst for other colleges. It would also show that Wesleyan is the liberal institution it claims to be, possible luring more socially-active students to come here, breaking the drift of pre-professionalism that seems to be engulfing Wesleyan."

"Finally, working as a group to get Wesleyan to divest and succeeding would be an education in itself. It would give the students the feeling that their opinions were respected, listened to, and carry weight."

How Much Will Divestment Cost?

By W. VICTOR TREDWELL

While it is clear that Wesleyan's involvement in South Africa is first a moral question, it is also a financial one; divestment will cost money. Students and parents facing rising tuition may not be aware that the University operates primarily on the income from its capital investments. If we are to consider a course of action that will affect that income, we must face its probable costs.

According to information contained in a report to the Stanford University trustees, conversations with professional investment managers, and with Richard Greene, Treasurer of the University, total divestment would have three major financial effects on Wesleyan. There will be costs associated with moving out of the securities called transactions costs, the long-term profitability of the portfolio will probably be diminished, and a decline in certain kinds of gifts can be anticipated.

The costs of selling the stocks in question arise from brokerage fees, which average ten cents per share, and from the "bid-ask spread". The latter arises because the price of a security is always slightly higher than the amount obtained from selling it and the difference is paid by the investor. Stanford estimates this cost at 1/2 point (12.5 cents) per share, and Mr. Greene at up to 1/4 point (25 cents). For Wesleyan's approximately 330,000 shares these costs work out to between \$74,000 and \$115,000, or less than one per cent of the value of the stocks traded. The costs for bonds are comparable, though some say they will be slightly higher and some lower. Certificates of deposit with banks have serious interest penalties for early withdrawal, but those that Wesleyan holds all expire before the end of April. The transaction costs for these, and for commercial paper, is effectively zero.

The most serious consequence would be in restricting the options for future investment. Companies involved in South Africa comprise about one-fifth of those in the Standard and Poor's 500, a widely accepted index of the stock market. They represent almost half of the current market value of that index.

Wesleyan now owns these stocks because they are, in the opinion of the managers, the most profitable. They are likely to continue to be so in the future. Treasurer Greene says that in some years, small capitalization companies were the most profitable and the cost of divestment would be low. But in other years Wesleyan will be foregoing income if the large companies are unavailable for investment. There is no way to predict this effect accurately, but the experts agree that it will be in the millions over a number of years. If the portfolio does not produce income sufficient for Wesleyan's needs and the capital itself must be spent, income on the money will be foregone, causing more spending of capital and so on in a vicious circle.

Another cost will probably be a decrease in gifts. Securities are often given to the University by large corporations and by individuals associated with them. It would not be very surprising if these gifts were diminished because of a policy of divestment. This effect is also unpredictable and likely to be large.

Total divestment, in light of these facts, will probably be expensive. The immediate effects of the transaction costs will be small, but there are unknown and potentially very great costs in the long run. On the other hand, the costs of the selective divestment policy recommended by the SISC are negligible. Moving out of the banks, and commercial paper costs nothing. Occasionally selling the stock of those companies which do not give satisfactory accounts of their activities will bring the usual transaction costs. However, having only a few stocks excluded from potential investment will not reduce the University's flexibility very much, and the amount of foregone gifts will be small compared to the total.

The SAAG proposal, that Wesleyan immediately divest its holdings in the fifteen corporations doing the largest business in South Africa, would be costly, though perhaps not prohibitively so. These companies are among the largest — Ford, GE, GM, IBM, ITT, etc. — but one can only speculate on the extent of the losses involved. As one

broker pointed out, there is a very large number of securities available to replace a small group divested. In this case foregone gifts might be a larger factor than in the total divestment case.

Though Wesleyan's holdings are small compared to any company's total stock this does not mean they cannot be used for pressure. One never actually

wins a shareholder proposal, but a vote against the management of three percent is taken as serious stockholder unrest. We can have a much larger effect through the publicity associated with divestment of an unresponsive company, or the threat of such publicity, than by the actual number of shares voted in proxy.

The Facts

COMMON STOCKS

Corporation	Market Value (as of 3-31-78)
+ Abbott Laboratories	\$939,250
Allied Chemical Corp.	1,110,000
American Express Co.	390,000
Atlantic Richfield Co.	64,325
+ Caterpillar Tractor Co. (15)	69,938
+ Colgate-Palmolive	
International, Inc.	137,500
Columbia Broadcasting	
System	208,688
Combustion Engineering	742,500
Dart Industries	41,061
Du Pont Chemical Co.	163,000
+ Eastman Kodak Co.	65,685
+ Exxon Corporation	907,180
+ Ford Motor Co. (15)	226,875
General Electric Co. (15)	245,700
+ General Motors (15)	433,125
Getty Oil Co.	643,000
Halliburton Co.	258,188
+ International Business	
Machines (15)	1,661,868
+ International Telephone and	
Telegraph Corp. (15)	1,097,250
+ Mobil Oil Corp. (15)	248,000
A.C. Nielsen Co.	141,825
Pepsi Cola International	197,813
Philip Morris Inc.	350,250
+ Phillips Petroleum Co.	798,000
Security Pacific Bank	
(loans to S.A.)	608,750
Shell Oil Co.	125,000
+ Standard Oil Co. of	
California (15)	211,275
+ Union Carbide Corp. (15)	3,937
+ Uniroyal Inc.	2,449
United States Steel Corp.	70,813
Warner-Lambert	
Pharmaceutical Co.	138,750
Total Common Stocks	\$12,302,595

BONDS

Citicorp	\$ 930,000
+ Deere and Co.	970,000
Dow Chemical Co.	992,000
Du Pont Chemical Co.	1,011,250
+ General Motors (15)	993,750
International Bank for	
Reconstruction and	
Development	192,000
G.D. Searle and Co.	200,750
+ Texaco Inc. (15)	928,750
Total Bonds	\$6,218,500

SHORT TERM INVESTMENTS

+ Ford Motor Co. (15)	\$ 865,000
General Electric Co. (15)	5,390,000
+ General Motors (15)	3,813,000
+ International Telephone &	
Telegraph Corp. (15)	2,922,000
Total Short Term	
Investments	\$12,990,000

GRAND TOTAL \$31,511,095

NOTE: BANKS

As of March 31, 1978, Wesleyan invests approximately \$31.5 million in corporations doing business in South Africa. The University at present has no money in certificates of deposits with any banks, although as recently as December 31, 1977, it had \$8 million with banks which make loans to South Africa or to U.S. companies for their activities in South Africa.

+ indicates the corporation subscribes to the Sullivan principles.

The designation (15) after a corporation means the corporation is one of the top 15 investors in South Africa.



Faculty Views on South Africa

By LESLIE SIMON and
SUSAN KRAVIT

Richard Vann is a Professor of History and Letters. He has written a petition calling for divestment to be circulated among the faculty. The thing which he finds most morally objectionable about South Africa is that it has a system that combines extreme exploitation of the labor force there with a racist justification for it. The fact is that whites there have one of the highest standards of living in the world. Apartheid is designed to prevent blacks from becoming citizens in the country where they work. Politically he feels that South Africa is "cracking up." He believes it is impossible for the situation there to remain stable for more than another generation.

Richard Adelstein: "It is appropriate for the University to consider moral implications in making investments."

Vann doesn't feel that corporate involvement in South Africa is totally negative. Natives working for American corporations earn more than they would as peasant farmers. But, because U.S. companies are in South Africa due to the enormous profits they make, and because these profits result directly from high worker exploitation, he feels that the companies should divest. Another reason to leave South Africa is that South African blacks do not appear to want our companies there. Vann personally feels that an even better strategy would be a total boycott of South Africa, its products and its consumer potential.

Vann feels that the full effect of a U.S. withdrawal from (or boycott of) South Africa would depend on the actions of other countries. But, since the U.S. is so large, our withdrawal would be a severe blow. He cites the example of Rhodesia, where economic sanctions played a part in the beginnings of change.

Vann emphasized that the Wesleyan administration views the question of divestment as a purely financial one, rather than a moral one. Personally Vann feels that Wesleyan should "raise a lot of hell as an investor and proxy voter," but because Wesleyan does not seem willing to raise hell, he feels divestment is the best strategy. He admits this would not be a terribly effective move. More effective would be a boycott of the products of U.S. companies which have holdings in South Africa. A college-wide strategy would also increase the effectiveness of divestment. Vann suggests mass divestment on the same day publicized in business papers, such as the Wall Street Journal, to insure the greatest effect.

Allan Burry: "If corporations cannot have the laws changed...they will have to take their losses and get out."

Richard Adelstein, Assistant Professor of Economics feels that "the South African government should be overthrown" and that regardless of anything done by the United States government, the white minority will inevitably be overthrown by the majority.

Adelstein says corporations should take the moral implications of their investments into account along with profit maximization. "...If I were the head of a corporation I would withdraw from South Africa." However, Adelstein does not believe intervention in South Africa is the role of the U.S. government. "We have no obligation to correct the situation in South Africa - this would be a mistake similar to that made in Vietnam...but it is a matter of personal morality which must be decided upon as a matter of conscience."

Adelstein believes Wesleyan's investments in South Africa are insignificant. "We are stockholders, we

cannot stop the owners." But Adelstein feels that we must view Wesleyan as a single individual given the choice either to invest in South Africa or not to. The question, then, is one of personal morality. Adelstein says it is important to consider the effect of investment upon the students. In order to teach the students a code of morality, it is necessary to "start living up to our own moral principles." Although he believes the effect of our investments upon South Africa to be minimal, Adelstein says "money should be withdrawn from banks and corporations (which have holdings in South Africa) and other investments chosen... It is appropriate for the University to consider moral implications in making investments."

Reverend Allan Burry, the University Minister and a Lecturer in Religion, says that the circumstances in South Africa lead him to envision only increased violence. Burry asserted that corporate investment in South Africa "protects the interest of the government and the white power structure." In addition he acknowledged that "bank loans have been particularly very useful to the South African government in time of stress."



Richard Adelstein and Nat Greene.

Photo by W. Victor Tredwell

Generally, Burry stated that he believes the banks should cease making loans (as Citibank of New York has already done) to the South African government. Moreover, he added that, "at a minimum, commercial corporations (involved in South Africa) should cease expansion...equalize wages, promotion procedures, and job classifications," and, finally, "refuse to sell their goods and services where they (the goods and services) will be put to racist use." The last of these suggestions is specifically illegal in South Africa. Burry stated that "if corporations cannot have the laws changed and their activities be made socially beneficial, then they will have to take their losses and get out!"

Concerning Wesleyan's role, Burry suggests that "a minimum response would be joining with other concerned social institutions such as other universities, churches, and unions; and proxy voting on issues related to economic and social justice in South Africa." He advocated a coordinated effort with other institutions to engage in "selective divestiture." A divestment campaign aimed at selected banks and corporations, in his mind, "would have the possibility for larger impact than if Wesleyan alone divested any stock it might hold in that particular company (or bank)."

Burry's concern is to avoid "foolish self-righteousness" and to "maximize the economic impact" of whatever steps are taken: "Wesleyan should not be deterred from seeking socially

constructive ways to foster greater degrees of social justice!"

Brian Fay is a tutor in the College of Social Studies, an Assistant Professor of Philosophy, and a member of the Social Implications Subcommittee of the Board of Trustees.

He points out that the situation in South Africa "is unique in the world not because it is racist and excludes enormous groups of people from the economic, political and social life of the country, but because it constitutionally sanctions such action." This constitutional legitimization of oppression makes South Africa an object for special consideration when appraising Wesleyan's investment policies.

Regarding corporate investment Fay says, "It shouldn't surprise us to find corporations investing in places where cheap labor is available. This is the way corporations do things. This is not a good way for human beings to be relating to each other. In South Africa corporations are not just exploiting people, they are exploiting people who are virtual slaves. Given the status of these people, corporations have a special responsibility here to put into action the theories of Corporate Responsibility they have been espousing for the last ten years."

Fay feels that realistically we should assume that corporations now in South

is a social and moral dimension to these investments... They should be used wherever possible to create a context whereby all the citizens can benefit from their presence there... We should work for change, use the corporate influence to try to change the situation." If it appears that change cannot be effected in South Africa, he suggests that we redirect the effort to other nations where liberation movements are strong. He has two ideas for action on the investments, although he is confident that there are other possibilities: "Either you pull out, or you transfer your investments and makethem accessible to those forces that are working for liberation."

He cautions, however, that Wesleyan

Brian Fay: "It shouldn't surprise us to find corporations investing in places where cheap labor is available."

alone cannot have much effect on the situation. "It has to be a concerted type of action to be most effective." Also, if Wesleyan were to divest alone, with students and faculty here making the necessary financial sacrifices while members of other institutions did not, he fears that jealousy and/or a "martyrdom complex" might result.

Professor Long warns that it is easy to be "paralyzed by the complexity" of the South African situation. Because of the distance between here and there, we tend to speak of the problem in highly abstract terms. "There has to be more communication between Americans and South Africans who are involved in the liberation movement. I would like to hear from them, get their views, because they're the ones most directly involved."

Catherine Newbury, a Visiting Assistant Professor of Government, believes that the "established government of South Africa has shown itself to be intransigent and it has left no peaceful alternatives to those desiring progressive change. Investments by U.S. firms and banks have made substantial contributions, such as capital, investments, managerial skills and technology, to the strength of the South African government which has, thereby, enhanced the power of the South African regime."

Newbury suggests that the corporations involved in South Africa do the "opposite of what they have been doing; they should reduce their involvement as rapidly as possible." She mentioned that Donald Woods, a newspaper editor who is a recent exile from South Africa who voiced opinions against the South African government's

Jerome Long: "Either you pull out, or you transfer your investments... to those forces that are working for liberation."

policies toward 'non-whites', advocated in an address at Yale a few weeks ago that divestment is the most effective response to the situation in South Africa and that it would contribute to the growing climate (of opinion) against South Africa. Newbury supports this stand and asserted that, "sacrifices must be made" in order to dramatize the concern of our university community about the situation in South Africa. She would like to see the trustees consider the option of divestment.

Saturday, April 8

March and demonstration to protest Wesleyan's financial support of apartheid. Behind Fisk, 12 noon, march to the Science Center. Speakers, African music.

Divestment: Not The Real Issue?

By PAUL CHILL

In the American struggle against the South African apartheid system, the debate has generally revolved around the role of United States corporations in that system. The issue has polarized people into two, opposing camps. Some argue that multinationals play an indispensable part in maintaining apartheid. Others insist that the corporations are essentially a benign factor in South African politics, and that they are, indeed, the only possible hope for South African blacks. As a result of this difference, the practical issues have become whether or not U.S. corporations should withdraw from South Africa, and whether or not "socially responsible" shareholders should divest from implicated corporations. The anti-apartheid movement has run up against a strong pro-corporate resistance, which has forced it to redouble its efforts toward divestment.

But this preoccupation has prevented the emergence of another extremely important issue: To what extent is apartheid just a particularly harsh example of a much more widespread phenomenon? For the evidence is overwhelming that not only do multinationals have a good deal to do with oppression in South Africa, but that this is only one instance in a vast system of exploitation of foreign peoples by multinational corporations throughout the world. If that is the case, then the obvious question is: why stop financing South African oppression just to invest in oppression somewhere else? In fact, doesn't divestment conceal the true extent and nature of multinational operations abroad?

The facts are widely available for scrutiny. Basically, the gap between the rich and poor countries has been widening since World War II. The 1950's and 60's, while creating the illusion of "the affluent society" in the West, brought rising unemployment, decreasing purchasing power and generally lower living standards for 40-60 percent of the world's population (the "Third World"). Throughout this period,

United States corporations maintained that their presence in the poor countries fostered Third World "development." The statistics show, instead, that multinational operations in the "undeveloped" world hinder development and promote poverty and hunger for hundreds of millions of people. It has become increasingly clear that these operations are the substance of a new form of economic domination, one in which the subjection is not manifested in any overt or direct political control.

There are a number of reasons why modern imperialism has not been grasped as such. Perhaps the most subtle (and far-reaching) is the traditional ideological expansion bent of western thought, which sees foreign domination as requiring military aggression and political domination. We tend to look for events like land seizures, and we expect to see colonial governments:

For early conservative theorists like Schumpeter, imperialism was something that had always existed, whether at the height of Egyptian civilization, the Roman Empire, or the British Empire. Moreover, he viewed it as a political relationship, in spite of its economic foundations. Schumpeter believed, therefore, that imperialism would necessarily disappear with the end of colonial governments.

Even the early radical theorists, like Hobson and Lenin, believed that imperialism necessarily took direct political forms. Their great contributions were to demonstrate the real economic bases of imperialism, and to show how capitalism brings with it an entirely new kind of base. Whereas economic expansion is an ancient historical fact, it is only under capitalism that it becomes a necessity. But this unexpected kind of imperialism was still seen as a benign colonial domination.

Today most colonies have achieved nominal political independence; the great empires are no more. Yet imperial relationships remain, and in a sense they are more "naked" than ever before. With the passing of direct political rule of foreign countries

(colonialism), domination has increasingly taken on the form of bare, economic exploitation. And a variety of indirect political mechanisms — political-military pacts and foreign "aid" to name just a couple — have been enough to maintain local governments that are friendly to U.S. interests.

The events that take place when a local government is unwilling to comply with U.S. interests reveal the nature of the underlying economic relationship. The United States instigated and supported counter-revolution in Guatemala in 1954, achieved the following results, according to the U.S. State Department:

1. The conclusion of an agreement with a United Fruit Company subsidiary providing for the return of property expropriated by the Guatemalan government.

2. The repeal of the law affecting remittances and taxation of earnings from foreign capital.

3. The signing of an Investment Guarantee Agreement with the United States.

4. The promulgation of a new and more favorable petroleum law.

And more recently, of course, a CIA-backed coup in Chile overthrew a constitutionally-elected government when that government in an effort to re-orient production toward the needs of the poverty-stricken population, seized control of several multinational subsidiaries. The attitude of the U.S. government has been that political "independence" is fine as long as it is accompanied by "stability": that is, the maintenance of a favorable investment climate for U.S. corporations. When stability has "broken down," it has been necessary to resort to overtly political measures, as in the cases of Guatemala and Chile.

While the political control is sometimes open, and sometimes concealed, the economic domination is more or less constant. The multinational corporations' expansion has generally been motivated by the desire to control more resources both human and natural. It is no different today. The activities of multinational corporations in the Third World are exploitative. Local land is used for export production, so big profits can

be realized back home. The abundant supply of cheap peasant labor means even greater profits. In pre-revolutionary Cuba, for example, the massive starvation problem was largely the result of the use of the abundant fertile soil for export-sugar production by U.S. corporations.

In South Africa, multinationals reap super-profits from the cheap black labor made available by the apartheid system. From Brazil to Iran to South Korea, multinational corporations are engaged in activities that maintain an ugly cycle of backwardness and of poverty.

There is truth to the notion, then, that divestment in South African corporations is a false issue, one that masks the likelihood that reinvestment in other corporations will only lend a hand to exploitation elsewhere. In this sense, divestment is less than a token act; it is a move that will give people an overblown feeling of accomplishment, and hence stunt action against multinational activities in general.

But the flip-side of this argument is far more compelling. The sense of accomplishment may be overblown, but it would represent a real, if limited — challenge of corporate practices. This kind of breakthrough could only give greater initiative and momentum to the anti-corporate movement. Besides, it is far more likely that the South Africa issue will increase people's awareness of modern imperialism than lull them into passivity.

Finally, let us not pretend that South Africa is a theoretical issue. It is actually a question of very concrete and terrible oppression of real, live people. But this should not mean that we must therefore deal with apartheid outside of its international and historical context. In fact, we can't. We can only do something about apartheid if we realize that it is not an isolated case of suffering. To deal with apartheid qua apartheid means to deal with a symptom of a much more extensive problem.

Nonetheless, we must begin somewhere. We can not be paralyzed by the enormity of the task. Divestment is an urgent and vital first step in the struggle against the corporate policies which exploit foreign peoples, and which demean all of our lives.

Students Unite In Protest

By RICHARD LOCKE

The worsening political crisis concerning apartheid and the publicity surrounding it have fueled opposition to American commercial involvement in South Africa. Last year was marked by a dramatic rise in protests related to U.S. business activity in that country. Students, from Smith to Stanford, have demonstrated their concern about this situation. Students charge that universities, by owning stock in corporations doing business in South Africa, are indirectly supporting a racist government and the policies of apartheid. As a result of this student concern, a variety of actions have been taken by university trustees and administrators.

The first major demonstration took place at Stanford University last May when 294 students were arrested in a sit-in. The sit-in, occupying the Old Union building, was conducted to protest the school's investment in corporations operating in South Africa. On June 2, 58 students were arrested after an eight hour sit-in on the University of California, Berkeley campus. University administration buildings were also occupied at University of Oregon, Hampshire College, and Portland State University for the same reason. Here at Wesleyan, there was a sit-in at North College at the beginning of this semester. Here, Wesleyan students, like students at other universities throughout the nation, have demonstrated not only a concern but also a demand for action on this problem.

Demonstrations elsewhere have been more restrained. A petition drive aimed at divestment is presently being conducted at Cornell University. The People's Front for the Liberation of South Africa at Princeton University has been pressing its demand for divestment by daily picketing of Nassau Hall. At Columbia University in New York, the University Senate was asked by the chairman of the school's board of trustees to form a committee to examine the investment issue and make suggestions for university policy.

Several colleges have already acted on this issue. The regents of the University of Minnesota have endorsed a measure in which the treasurer of the university submits shareholder resolutions to corporations which have not signed the Sullivan Principles. The board of trustees of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst decided to sell \$700,000 in stock of companies with operations in South Africa. The regents of the 13-unit system of the University of Wisconsin voted to sell \$8 million worth of shares on the ground that holding them violates a 1973 law forbidding investment of the university in companies that discriminate. At Hampshire College, trustees voted to sell \$39,000 of stock in South African companies. In mid-October of last fall, Smith College sold 42,014 shares of stock it held in Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. after the college decided that Firestone did not respond sufficiently to questions about their policies in South Africa.

Most colleges however, are leery of

hastily unloading their holdings and thus have not acted as yet. Wesleyan is one of those colleges. Robert Booker, a spokesman for the South Africa Action Group argued in a N.Y. Times article on March 15 that Wesleyan "has a reputation as a progressive liberal arts college which is educating its students in democracy and teaching them to respect human rights...How can they explain an investment policy that seems to ignore everything the university stands for?"

At Yale

The Northeast Conference on the Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa, held at Yale last weekend, furthered the organization and education of people opposing apartheid in Southern Africa. About 400 people, mostly students, attended the Conference's workshops, plenary session, cultural activities, and rally.

The Conference was planned by the Northeast Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, an umbrella organization of student anti-apartheid groups from Amherst, Brandeis, Hampshire, UMASS, UCONN, Yale, Harvard, Dartmouth, Mt. Holyoke, Smith, Clark, and of course, Wesleyan, along with various northeastern community groups. Students, members of national com-

mittees concerned with Southern Africa, and black and white Africans led the workshops. A comprehensive list of topics was covered, including "The Role of Multinational Corporations in South Africa," "Resistance to the Military in South Africa," "Report on a Visit to the Front-line states," "The Role of Women in the Liberation Struggle," and "Carter's Foreign Policy: Human Rights or Crocodile Tears."

Workshops of a more organizational nature were also held, two of which involved Wesleyan people. Laura Schulkind and George Aposporos, both students, lead the "Political Organizing" workshop and Jay Kilbourn, of Politics and Education magazine, was a leader in the "Using the Media" workshop. Politics and Education has also become the coordinating point for a northeast anti-apartheid newsletter.

The plenary session ratified a number of proposals concerned with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, College and U.S. government involvement in this struggle, divestiture, and the anti-apartheid movement. One of the most interesting ratifications dealt with the desire for official U.S. asylum for White Rhodesians and South African draft resisters.

The Conference set the base for a united campus anti-apartheid movement in support of the African liberation struggles. A steering committee of representatives of all colleges universities involved in the Conference was formed and will be meeting here this Saturday to discuss future activities. A mass rally is planned for later in spring—keep an eye open for details.



It Doesn't End With Divestment

By GEOFF CLARK and ROB BERTSCHE

Wesleyan students have been hearing a lot of talk lately about divestment as a way of forcing U.S. corporations to leave South Africa. While some assert that enough pressure may be brought to bear on corporations simply by voting for shareholder resolutions urging withdrawal, past experience has shown that such resolutions even when passed, rarely motivate corporations to comply. Discarding that method while still assuming that corporate withdrawal from South Africa is desirable, we plan to examine the role of institutional divestment in a larger strategy for bringing about withdrawal.

Divestment is a valuable tool which should be a part of any strategy for corporate withdrawal from South Africa. But it should be supplemented by other actions, such as boycotts, demonstrations, and federal legislation. Primarily a social statement, divestment lacks a significant economic impact on corporations. For one thing, sales of stocks are essentially third-party transactions. In other words, when one investor sells his or her stock to another investor, the corporation is essentially unaffected. Only the name of the stockholder is changed. Secondly, the share of most institutions in major corporations is negligible; whether or not Wesleyan sells its more than \$5 million of stocks and bonds in General Electric, for example, will not make much difference to that corporation, which grosses \$11.5 billion every year.

What will make a difference to GE, however, is the bad public relations which divestment will engender. Large corporations have come to realize in recent years that a bad public image at home threatens their operations even more than economic disruptions abroad. Unfavorable publicity may lead to increased social and political action against corporations in-

volved in South Africa. One article in *The New York Times* will have much more of an effect on a corporation than the sale of a few million dollars worth of stock. That article could provoke a groundswell among institutions which might all begin to seriously consider divestment for themselves. Better yet, the article might spur a politician to support legislation curtailing or eliminating U.S. trade with South Africa. It should be remembered, however, that neither of these outcomes is particularly likely unless divestment takes place in a climate of general political and social pressures on corporations to withdraw. Divestment can contribute to that climate, but by itself it is a relatively impotent gesture.

Boycotts of products manufactured by South Africa-related corporations could involve individual consumers in the fight against American support for apartheid. Like institutional divestment, consumer boycotts would have a nominal economic effect. Put simply: 1) Consumer sovereignty over many products does not exist. GE, for instance, manufactures 300,000 products and has developed not only horizontally, but vertically as well. Chances are that the lightbulb in one's ceiling, the socket, wiring, and the power plant at the other end are all GE products. It would be virtually impossible to boycott GE's consumer goods, to say nothing about stopping its tremendous defense contracts. 2) If a boycott were organized, say of light bulbs, it would only divert consumers' purchases to Westinghouse, GE's only major competitor in light bulbs. Westinghouse also operates in South Africa.

Nevertheless, boycotts, especially if combined with nation-wide demonstrations, can create pressure leading to Congressional legislation. To date, the United States' expressed disapproval of apartheid has consisted of a voluntary arms embargo, which we have regularly broken. The Senate Foreign Relations

Committee, however, is currently pressing for more substantial action to discourage U.S. economic ties with South Africa's racist white regime. A bill submitted by the subcommittee on African Affairs is now in committee. If passed, that bill would make it more difficult for credit or capital to flow into South Africa; would "deny tax credits to firms paying taxes to South Africa, that extends loan to, or invest in operations of the South African Government or its agencies"; and would "withhold endorsement of private groups or associations, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, which organize in defense of United States corporate investment in South Africa, unless they satisfactorily support Government guidelines."

In assessing the impact of divestment, boycotts, and demonstrations on forcing corporations to withdraw from South Africa, many have concentrated on the economic effects. More important, however, is the social pressure these actions will generate. As we have shown, social pressure may be exerted from three sectors: the public in general, aroused through publicity and extensive media coverage; institutions such as church groups, unions, and universities, by divesting themselves of securities or applying unified pressure to corporations; and the government, responding to public outcry, by legislative measures discouraging South African investment.

Combined, these actions constitute a powerful strategy for bringing about corporate withdrawal. Institutional divestment of securities of corporations involved in South Africa is a part of this strategy, but by no means the only or even the most important part. There is a long distance to be traveled before corporations can be forced (or persuaded, as the case may be) to leave South Africa — but the journey must necessarily be composed of small steps. For Wesleyan, divestment should be the first.

Soweto Student Leader

We want American companies to go home!



By BOB BOOKER

Selby Semela is a member of the Soweto Students Representative Council and a former leader of the South African students strike which began in Soweto in 1976. Semela helped organize the strike after the South African government introduced Afrikaans — the language of the white minority — as the medium of instruction in secondary schools. In South Africa, under the Bantu Education system, blacks must now for an education just inferior to that which whites enjoy for free.

After a mass student demonstration in Soweto in 1976 — in which over one thousand students were killed by the South African police — the government rescinded the introduction of Afrikaans. Yet the student movement and school boycott continues today.

The following are excerpts from an interview in the third issue of *Politics and Education*.

P & E: Am I correct that the S.S.R.C. of which you are a member, did not ask for integration but equality of school standards during the Soweto student strike of 1976?

S: Yes, but you should understand, this started as students demanding the striking of Afrikaans and Bantu education, but it did not continue as that. It has changed to people fighting for their political rights, opposing not the educational system, but opposing the whole system of Apartheid. People are not fighting for concessions anymore; they are fighting for the whole country.

P & E: How large is the strike now? Is it mostly in Soweto or does it include schools throughout S.A.?

S: The strike is throughout S.A. But as you know, Soweto is the biggest ghetto and it is in Soweto that most things are going on but all students in the whole country are on strike.

P & E: What do you feel OAU can do?

Do you think that they have some international strength that could be effective towards the destruction of apartheid?

S: Sure, I believe that the OAU can really do something to help advance the struggle. But I have been following the history of the OAU and the UN, and what these people have been doing in the past is to pass resolution after resolution, a hundred resolutions, without ever really taking a practical

Africa into something of an academic issue. It isn't an academic issue. It's a moral issue, we are dealing with the lives of the people. When we talk about South Africa we are not just talking about a racist state, or a country where apartheid is legalized, we are talking about a fascist state where fascism is legalized and is modernized. I don't know of any other fascist state except South Africa. In the U.S. I know that there is racism all over and racial discrimination all over but the U.S. is not fascist yet. But South Africa is fascist. The struggle in South Africa is going to be a long and bitter one. There is the possibility that it could result in a third World War and this is not just a coincidence, there are many elements involved that could cause this. It is not a struggle just to end racial discrimination, it is a struggle for majority rule, and will be a long and bitter one. For instance, James Kruger, the Minister of Justice, I mean supposedly justice, has made it clear that the whites in S.A. are going to fight to the bitter end. Prime Minister Vorster has also said that whites in S.A. are going to fight until the last white person drops dead. And I definitely think that these people do mean it, I know their kind. They are not just going to give in, they are going to fight. You must not forget their military capabilities.

P & E: I'd like to know what you think of the recent movement in America focusing on bank loans and corporations operating out of S.A. Students are demanding that universities divest themselves of all investments and bank deposits that are in businesses that deal with or in South Africa. Do you feel this is the most effective protest that American students can make at this time?

S: Definitely so! All the things you've mentioned and also the Krugerrand (a gold coin sold to raise money abroad for South Africa) are things that the people in S.A. are desperately fighting against but, as you know, people in S.A. have no freedom of speech, no freedom of movement, and

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Fighting Apartheid ...

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vestment climate in South Africa is a positive resolution of the country's pressing social problems, which have their origin in the apartheid system. Should conditions in South Africa improve substantially, the Corporation may consider an expansion of its facilities in that country.

Withdrawal

GM. It is GM's feeling that the necessary social and economic changes in South Africa cannot be furthered if General Motors simply withdraws from the country.

GM cannot expect to make progress

or persuade South African leaders of needed changes if it does not continue to play a part in the South African economy. Moreover, the impact of withdrawal by General Motors would be serious in terms of the immediate loss of jobs for South Africans of all races and the severe economic dislocation that the over 4,000 employees of GMSA would suffer.

IBM. Suppose IBM were to get out of South Africa. What would such withdrawal mean?

It would mean, first, that our 1,478 people would lose their jobs. As far as IBM's revenues are concerned, our South African subsidiary accounts for

less than one percent of our worldwide business.

Second, withdrawal is unlikely to have any effect on racial discrimination or its economic underpinning. All U.S. corporations together have only about 15 percent of foreign investment in South Africa. British companies, with about 53 percent, are major investors. Considering the number of competitors in the computer field, an IBM, or even a U.S. withdrawal from South Africa is unlikely to result in anything more than the substitution of the systems of other manufacturers for those removed.

Third, withdrawal would set a precedent which no thoughtful American should welcome: a precedent

of taking foreign policy out of the hands of the government and putting it into the hands of corporations. ...Critics have every right as citizens to disagree with United States foreign policy toward South Africa, and to work within our political system to change it. But corporations should be free to do business in any country acceptable to the U.S. government where they can treat their employees fairly and operate profitably.

Divestment

GM. It would be particularly distressful if Wesleyan sold its General Motors stock under these circumstances. We are trying very hard to recognize all the equities involved in a very complex situation, and we sincerely desire your support.

... or profiting from it?

Continued from Page Seven

measure," and regularly disbands opposition political groups. The text books for South African blacks ultimately stress not reading, nor 'riting, nor 'rithmetic, but resignation.

Another of the Sullivan principles endorsed by the three corporations is the general improvement of living conditions for blacks. This, too, is a naive goal. The poverty and persecution of blacks is so pervasive — no black vote, no black unionization, no choice of where to live or work, no right of assembly, 80 percent of the population living on 13 percent of the land and receiving 20 percent of the national income — that any corporate efforts for improvement within the system are bound to be insignificant at best. Ford says it is building homes and encouraging home ownership. Yet, part of the South African law Ford will not challenge is the creation of an African migrant work force which lives in crowded urban hostels while the families of the workers are moved to the Bantustans. The workers see their wives and children once a year.

Beyond their specific proposals for the improvement of the Bantustans, that they serve as a progressive force simply by operating in South Africa. However, one of the few things black and whites agree upon in South Africa is the impotence of the corporations.

Beyers Naudé, chief of the Kwazulu Bantustan and church leader, has charged that "attempts to increase the responsibility of employers and investors within the system will do nothing to produce the radical redistribution of wealth and power which are the essential prerequisites of justice and peace." Daniel Bell Sole, the American ambassador from South Africa, concurs. Asked if the Vorster regime regards S. corporations as a threat, he replied, "No, not in the slightest. ...There is basically little difference, if any, between the approach of U.S. corporations and the approach of South African corporations." Later, he added that the U.S. corporations "cannot play any role whatsoever in the institution of black majority rule."

The corporations also argue that withdrawal would do more harm than good. GM, in a seeming contradiction, warns that withdrawal would cause increased unemployment and a "downstream effect" on the economy, then claims withdrawal would have no effect at all, GM's spot simply being filled by another corporation. Both contentions are unfounded. First, withdrawal of U.S. corporations would do little to alter black unemployment, which would rise 10 percent, compared to white unemployment which would rise 400 percent. Second, it is highly unlikely, in view of the growing

political and economic instability of South Africa, that any corporations are going to begin new operations there.

The corporations also warn that withdrawal will lead to a bloodbath. Bloodbath for whom? Last year, 22 percent of South Africa's political prisoners died in prison — Steve Biko being one. Blacks on death row outnumber whites 50 to 1. At the Soweto uprising, soldiers shot into crowds of black children. When do mass killings turn into a "bloodbath"? Only when whites are killed?

No corporation can deny that its overriding long-term interest is profit. What makes South Africa a profitable place to produce is its cheap labor supply. Rather than build up their operations at home, where workers are unionized and receive relatively high wages, multinationals set up small enclaves of capital and industry in the midst of a vast, poor, uneducated population. Then the corporations proceed to exploit that population. Corporate involvement is not improving the lives of those people. Rather, it is preventing the development of an internal market, internal industries and non-exported capital.

U.S. corporations have a stake in preserving apartheid. This stake is made manifest by their complicity with the Vorster regime. For example, when the Sullivan principles were first adopted, key wording was changed at the request of the then South African Ambassador to the United States. The

original draft said, "Where implementation requires a modification of existing South African laws and customs, we will seek such modification through appropriate channels." The final draft of the principles eliminated this and any reference to South African law.

Finally, GM, Ford and IBM all wish not to withdraw because they prefer not to become "politically involved." This is a confusing argument, for it follows their promises of promoting liberal change by remaining in South Africa. With profits higher than the gross national products of many countries, these multinationals are inherently political whether they like it or not. Even Prime Minister Vorster recognizes that fact: "Every time a South African product is bought, it is another brick in the wall of our continued existence," he has stated.

Ford's trucks are used by the South African military. IBM's computers are used by the government. All three corporations have provided to white South Africa the capital, technology, skill and tax revenues necessary for it to sustain and protect apartheid. A holder of such influence does not have the moral right to leave the political implications of its operations up to the vagaries of the world market. GM, Ford and IBM became international political powers the minute they built a factory outside the United States. It is time that they face up to that fact, and to the responsibility which it brings.

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Who's Who on the Board

Continued from Page Eight

swanger Company, Philadelphia (property management). Philanthropic. Will not attend meeting this week-end.

Bonnie Blair '72. Lawyer, Spiegel and McDiarmid, Washington, D.C. (public interest law firm). An alumni trustee. Among the youngest of the trustees. Term expires this year, but she hopes to run again in the future. Gaining influence on the Board.

"The trustees could not do anything that would jeopardize Wesleyan's economic situation," says Blair. "On the other hand, the trustees have an obligation to take care of Wesleyan's moral health. And I think there can be a conflict there."

Robert Buckley '50. Chairman and President, Allegheny Ludlum Industries, Inc. (steel). Manager, union relations, with General Electric, 1959-1961. An alumni trustee. Rarely attends meetings. Son is a Wesleyan student.

Antonia Chayes. Assistant Secretary, Department of the Air Force for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Installations. Previously a lawyer in Boston. Second term on the Board. Son attends Wesleyan.

Richard Couper. President and Chief Executive Officer, The New York Public Library has a \$75 million endowment, but Couper is unsure how much is in South Africa-related banks and corporations.

"I am not informed on this issue at all. I view it as terribly important," says Couper. "Simply saying to a company, 'You ought to pull out of South Africa' looks like a harshly simplistic thing to do," he adds.

H. Richard Dietrich, Jr. '60. President, Dietrich Foundation.

Ellen D'Oench. Assistant Curator of Painting, Yale Center for British Art. A new trustee this year. Her son spent a year in Johannesburg. Husband is editor of the Middletown Press. "I do not subscribe to the theory that our presence (in South Africa) is a helpful influence," says D'Oench. "I'd really like to hear some facts and figures," she adds.

"I get the feeling that (the trustees) are going to be very loathe to divest on principle," she notes. "We're rather return-oriented, to say the least."

Terry Hatter '54. Judge, Superior Court of California, for the past year. Previously Director of Urban Development in Los Angeles. An alumni trustee, the only black on the Board, asks probing questions at Board meetings, according to one source. Doubtful about effect of divestment, more concerned

about bank loans to the South African government.

Hatter said he was distressed by the "policy of the university not to be at all interested in where its investments go, aside from the profit return," adding, "I would just as soon have no stated policy on that subject."

Gerald Holton '41. Professor of Physics and History of Science, Harvard University. Member, U.S. National Committee on UNESCO. Exchange Professor, Leningrad University.

Mary McWilliams '71. AHMAC Corporation (American Health Management Administration Consultants). An alumni trustee. Involved in anti-war movement as a student, but "not a leader." "It's a lot lower level of aggressiveness now," she says. "I think (the students) should be commended for being judicious."

McWilliams sees divestment as more directly harmful to Wesleyan than investment in corporations in South Africa. "I think it is somewhat misleading to equate the dollar value of Wesleyan's investments in the corporations with direct involvement there," she says.

Robert Newell '45. Chairman and President,

Hartford National Bank and Trust Company. An alumni trustee, will not be at the meeting this weekend. Relatively influential on the board, particularly in financial affairs.

Peter Nowell '48. Professor of Pathology, University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine.

Andrall Pearson. President, PepsiCo Inc. (which has a bottling plant in South Africa). Director McKinsey and Co., 1965-70 (Daniel is managing director now). Influential on the Board. Daughter attends Wesleyan.

Seth Rosner '52. Lawyer, partner in Rosner McEvoy and Stebel. An alumni trustee. Liberal. Will be at full Board meeting, but cannot attend SAAG discussion. Has spent a day in Johannesburg, visited law courts there. Also visited Rhodesia with his wife. "We both came away with the feeling that if something wasn't done pretty quick, Rhodesia and South Africa would become a bloodbath," he says.

John Woodhouse '53. President and Chief Operating Officer, Sysco Corporation (food brokerage, supplies SAGA). An alumni trustee. Son attends Wesleyan. Will not be at meeting this weekend.

"I have to very seriously question the wisdom of restructuring an endowment for achieving 'social good' which will affect the (financial health) of Wesleyan," says Woodhouse.

Go Home!

Continued from Page Twelve

are not allowed to demonstrate. So people rely a lot upon the outside world. The people working in America really have a great affect on the people of S.A. and also on the moral issue of it. It really shows the people who are fighting in South Africa that they are not isolated in the struggle, that there are people struggling with them, and this keeps them pushing.

P & E: What would be the effects on black South Africans of a U.S. economic boycott?

S: People must understand, blacks in the country have been oppressed for over three hundred years and they have been fighting for over three hundred years. Even though the unemployment in S.A. is very high, so the talk that if U.S. corporations pull out then people are going to lose their jobs is totally irrelevant. People, for them to get what they want, will have to suffer more and they expect to suffer more. Recently I received a letter from some of the people that work at IBM ... and ... well, can I read you the letter?

P & E: Sure. This is from IBM?

S: Yes, from blacks who work at IBM in Johannesburg. The letter reads: "...Dear Selby, We did not know to whom we must write but we heard of the good work that you've been doing in the United States. We work for IBM in the city. The money we make there is our life, even if it is not much. But we know that these American bastards support the gov't. Vorster is the one who needs them, we do not need them. Even if it means that we will lose our jobs we want the American companies to go home. We are pleased to hear that there are brothers and sisters in America who support us. It makes us very happy. We wish them success in helping us as much as they can. When we heard that American companies were going to scrap Apartheid and chance it, all the people in Soweto were very excited. We thought maybe this would bring an end to Apartheid. We waited and waited. There were a few changes but there is still Apartheid. We have decided that there is really nothing these companies can do to bring change in S.A. So we decided that they should go home." Then it is signed by the person who wrote it. It is not a long letter but I think it can give you a good picture what the people feel. It is the people themselves in S.A. who are calling for the American businesses to pull out.

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Resource List: Campus Organizations

In each issue of the PAN we hope to print a resource list. In order to help facilitate interest in and coordination between campus groups and individuals, we have compiled this listing of campus political groups.

If you have not been included in this listing, or if you are but failed to furnish information and would like to update this listing, please contact us at Box III, or ext. 463.

Ajua Campos: A Latino organization seeking to educate the community about Latino culture and heritage. Ajua Campos sponsors lectures and cultural events. It is also involved in educating the community about the Bakke case. Meetings are at La Casa De Abizu-Campos, Latin House, 230 Washington Street. For more info: Jose Mandry

Center for the Study of Education & Politics: P & E seeks to promote innovation and change in higher education and society. It publishes the magazine *Politics & Education* and acts as "an information clearinghouse. It is staffed by recent graduates, and is a non-profit organization. For more info: 347-9411 X660; Box P & E; Anne Field, John Barker, John Houston, Dan Zegart, Joel Lefkowitz, Jay Kilburn, Dan Perlstein; offices 285 Court Street basement.

The second issue of P & E is on sale now in the college store at \$1.25 per issue or \$5.00 for a year subscription. It focuses on the job crisis facing college grads, South Africa activism, pinball, and much more.

Coalition of Independent College and University Students: COPUS is a student-run lobby and research group based in Washington, D.C., and it represents students at both the federal and state level. COPUS is registered as a lobbyist in Connecticut. Office: 706 Basement, Butt. Unit C. For more info: Daryl Messinger Box 109, X660.

Committee on Environmental Action: The CEA increases ecological awareness by raising environmental issues and encouraging activism. CEA has sponsored recycling, speakers, newsletters, reading room, bulletin board, and film series. For more info: Elaine Tietjen

Nuclear Resistance Group: NRG works to educate and activate the community about the dangers of nuclear power and the nuclear arms race. Meetings alternate Tuesdays 110 Fisk. Offices Alternative Resource Center, Housing Office. For more info: Bradley Hess 347-4048, Box NRG

Political Film Series: The PFS offers a wide range of films concentrating on alternative views of political and social phenomena. The films are chosen for their overall statements with little interest on PFS profit, of which there is none. People are welcomed to get involved in running the PFS. For more info: Rachael Basch Box 0025, 346-0041

South Africa Action Group: SAAG educates the Wesleyan community about the issues of apartheid and US involvement-through bank loans, corporate investment-in South Africa; to relate the issues of racism and worker exploitation in South Africa to the same issues in the US; and to get Wesleyan to divest itself of all investment in business operating in South Africa. Meetings: Wednesday afternoons, 4:30, Hewitt Lounge. For more info: Danny Morales 346-9480, Box 1180

NOTE: Much is happening pertaining to Wesleyan divestiture from investment in racist South Africa. Check our calendar for a list of events, speakers, demonstrations.

Socialist Organizing Committee: The SOC is concerned with racism, sexism, corporate priorities taking precedence over human needs, the lack of democracy in such-institutions as the workplace and the school, and the bureaucratization of daily life. The SOC is organized around affinity groups dealing with such issues as Connecticut and the military, Wesleyan and South African apartheid, workplace and staff issues, etc. Meetings every third Sunday Andrus Lounge. For more info: Laura Gibbons Box 1097; Jack Wood Box 581.

Sun-Up Press: A student run, volunteer press serving the Wesleyan community, printing posters and other printing needs at minimal cost. Located basement Housing Office. For more info: Janise Hurtig, 347-6103.

Wesleyan ConnPIRG, Connecticut Public Interest Research Group: A statewide student organization for active social change in areas pertaining to the environment, consumer rights, and anything else that bugs you. This semester we will be working on the Ct. Bottle Bill, Wesleyan Recycling, alternative energies, the Consumer Action Center, Middletown price surveys, and anything else. For more info: ConnPIRG: Romy Albin Box 7 347-2406; Amanda Hardy Box 628 346-0401; Consumer Action Center: Janet Brooks 347-9335; 347-9411 X712.

Wesleyan Food Project: Issues dealt with include: Hunger, Nutrition and ethics, Economics and Ecology of Food Production and Consumption; Activities: Fundraising (Oxfam), speakers, food day, fairs, films, MoCon Anti-Waste Campaign, Vegetarian Dinners, Food Careers. For more info: Jeffrey Weinstein Box 1009 347-6407.

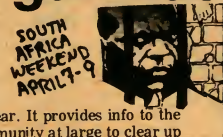
Wesleyan Gay Alliance: A group of gay and bisexual members of the Wesleyan community provides opportunities for other gay and bisexual people a chance to meet and gain support from people with similar experiences and different viewpoints, to discuss common problems, to be open about feelings

without fear. It provides info to the Wes Community at large to clear up misunderstandings about gay people.

The Alliance is sponsoring a series of discussions in late March and April on gay rights, relationships, and interaction among gays and straights. Meetings: first and third Thursdays. For more info: Phil Melemed Box 703

Wesleyan Women's Center: The Women's Center serves to foster and support consciousness, community, and social change via: health task forces, self help workshops, C-R groups, abortion rights and legislative concerns, or speakers, movies, festivals, sexual assault and birth control education, gay alliance task force, Women's Studies Committee, issue-oriented weekends (women in the arts, body imagery, etc.) in addition, we maintain a library-resource center for research, referrals, counselling, and education, and FUN!! Open 24 hours a day; Staffed Mon-Fri 11-1. For more info: Box WW, X669, 346-0041, 170 College Street

Wesleyan Workplace Committee: Working to develop and strengthen communication between Wesleyan employees and students and to promote students understanding and awareness of staff issues. Call for meetings. For more info: Laura Gibbons Box



1097 346-0041; Nancy Winkelman Box 1013 347-8794; Dan Wolf Box 1014 346-2234; Anne Field P&E X660.

Ujamaa: Ujamaa, the Kiswahili term meaning cooperative economics, is the name of the Wesleyan Black Student Organization. It brings to Wesleyan speakers, concerts, and events which speak to the black experience in America and in the world. Ujamaa thus proposes to educate and raise the consciousness of the Wes Community as to how the tenets of black solidarity and cooperative economics can be realized. Ujamaa, with other groups, has addressed itself to the implication of the pending case and the situation in South Africa.

Meetings for the Familyhood: Sundays 8 pm at Malcolm X House. For more info: Ken Samuel Box 1227 346-0703; Adrienne Kelly

Volunteers of Wesleyan: Assists in placing Wesleyan students as volunteers with Wesleyan student-run programs and Middletown organizations such as the Connecticut Valley Hospital, Long Lane School, Oddfellows Playhouse, and many more.

Offices second floor Housing Office. For more info: Juliet Tompkins Box CC, 347-9411 X 712.

Wesleyan Asian Interest Group: An organization comprised of Asian and East Asian students interested in offering the Wesleyan Community academic and cultural presentations relevant to all aspects of East Asian and Asian-America. We also coordinate activities among students of East Asian studies. For more info: Nancy Chen 347-8034 Box 1055; Eileen Patrick 347-4062

PAN Update J.P. Stevens

The Progressive Action Newsletter understands that Bradlees and Caldor, two department stores in Middletown have agreed to let their stock of J.P. Stevens merchandise run out and, in support of the struggle of J.P. Stevens workers to unionize, have said they will not be selling J.P. Stevens products.

ARC Telephone

The Alternative Resource Center-Progressive Action Newsletter now has a telephone, 347-9411 X463. Please call this number with information to be printed in the newsletter or to be posted on the ARC calendar, with questions about political material or political groups, or anything else of social and political importance. This phone is also available to Wesleyan groups or individuals for important social or political purposes.

Events Calendar

Thursday, April 6

Colloquium: William Hinton, author of *Fanshen*, story of the revolutionary experiences of Chinese peasants, will give a colloquium. Return to Long Bow Village. 184 SC, 3 p.m.

Amnesty International monthly meeting. 332 Fisk. 7:30 p.m.

Talk: Prexy Nesbit, Ass't. Dir. ACOA-Committee to oppose bank loans, on "Banks, Bannings, & Lepers: Wesleyan's Portfolio Exposed." 150 SC, 7:30 p.m.

Film, *The Other Half of the Sky*, by Shirley MacLaine. A documentary about a group of American women visiting the Chinese Peoples' Republic. 58 SC, 8 p.m.

Lecture, Prof. Hans Jonas, Prof. Philosophy, New School for Social Research: Reconsider DNA Research and Public Policy - An Ethical Inquiry. CSS Lounge 8 p.m.

Lecture, L. Philip Ewald, VP of International Executive Service Corps: US Moral and Social Responsibility in International Affairs. 184 SC, 8 p.m.

West College Coffeehouse: evening of music of all exotic kinds PLUS info and letter writing on South Africa Divestiture. 9:00-midnight-by SAAG

Friday, April 7

At 4:30, the South Africa Action Group (SAAG) will meet with the Wesleyan trustees concerning divestiture. Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa will speak. Student trustees will speak. The CBC will speak. This is an information session and will be closed to the public.

Saturday, April 8

March and demonstration to call for Wesleyan's divestiture from banks and corporations doing business with the racist regime in South Africa. We will gather behind Flak, April 8, at 12 noon, and will march around the campus to the Science Center, where the Trustees will be meeting, to demonstrate. There will be speakers and music. Come show solidarity against our financial support of apartheid!!

Sunday, April 9

Documentary Film Cinema. 8 p.m. Gay USA.

Monday, April 10

Documentary Film Cinema. 8 p.m. Gay USA.

Tuesday, April 11

"Seabrook orientation" for all those interested in learning about the June 24 occupation/restoration of the Seabrook Nuclear Power Site in New Hampshire. For more info: Eric 347-4279.

Israeli Film Festival, *Saga*, tale of a six-day war widow as she struggles to reconstruct her life. Co-sponsored by the Women's Center. 8 p.m. Cinema. Free.

Wednesday, April 12

Debate on Nuclear Power: Arguing against nuclear power are Howard Brown (CSIS) and Paul Gronfriddo (People's Action for Clean Energy). Arguing for Nuclear Power are Dr. Robert R. Lee and



Dr. Joseph Braun, American Nuclear Society and Combustion Engineering, makers of the reactor core at Seabrook. 7:30 p.m. 01 PAC.

Double Bill: Political film series: "The Lion Has Seven Heads" (Brazil), 8 p.m. 150 SC. After film, talk by Stokely Carmichael about 9 p.m. 150 SC. Check signs.

Friday, April 14

Jim Garrison of the Boston Clamshell Alliance will speak on "S. 1437, Silkwood, and Civil Liberties" at 7:30 p.m. Watch for place, sponsored by NRG, ARC, SOC.

Tuesday, April 18

Lecture, Ralph Milliband, "The Debate on the Contemporary State." 121 PAC 4 14 p.m. for more info., Government Dept.

Open House and Introduction to the Alternative Resource Center, second floor Housing Office, 190 High Street. 8 p.m. refreshments and politics.

Thursday, April 20

Food Day. Documentary Film: *Green Grow the Profits*. Call Jeffrey Weinstein.

Political film series: "Ramparts of Clay" (South Africa). 8 p.m. 150 SC.

Editorials

Take An Active Role

As humans, as humanitarians, we clearly are obligated to fight apartheid. How Wesleyan can best fulfill this obligation is a kaleidoscopic question, which cannot be judged on any one of its aspects. We recognize that the decision the Trustees reach this weekend must be a compromise, tempered by both moral and financial considerations.

Although many advocate immediate total divestment of Wesleyan's holdings in all corporations which do business in South Africa, the issue cannot be so simply resolved. Whether or not we divest, we cannot shun all involvement with these corporations as, dominating many major industries, they unavoidably permeate our society. We cannot expect the Trustees to dismiss their commitment to uphold Wesleyan on a sound financial basis, nor would we want them to do so. But neither can we allow the university to lend support, albeit indirect, to the South African government.

The recommendations of the Social Implications Subcommittee (SISC) provide a partial answer to this dilemma. SISC calls for Wesleyan to support shareholder proposals to undermine apartheid, to express concern directly to management if this shareholder pressure is ineffective, and to divest eventually from companies unresponsive to such pressure. These procedures all merit adoption, but are inadequate for Wesleyan to maintain the "active and alert stance" SISC proposes it take regarding apartheid.

While SISC asserts that it can be desirable for U.S. corporations to remain in South Africa, we agree with the South Africa Action Group (SAAG) that this is a faulty analysis of the situation. Limited by South African law and their own profit-making motivations, corporations are unlikely to benefit black workers significantly, as the record of their involvement in South Africa indicates. These corporations

contribute to the stability of the South African economy and thus of the racist regime. Therefore, although we support SISC's suggestion of case-by-case reviews of corporations's activities in South Africa, we believe that withdrawal of all operations will prove the most effective solution.

The SISC recommendations should be combined with a stronger emphasis on the active leadership role Wesleyan can take in influencing corporate policy. Wesleyan should immediately open communication with the companies in which we invest, censuring their involvement in South Africa. The university should use to the fullest its symbolic power of ownership in these corporations by initiating and supporting shareholder proposals to withdraw from South Africa, by enlisting other investors in efforts to sway corporate policy, and by alerting the public to company operations in South Africa. Within a definite time period, not more than six months, Wesleyan should divest its holdings in companies which show no signs of changing their policies.

These actions will require in-depth knowledge of company procedures and operations in South Africa. We recommend that a committee be charged with continuing research into these areas. SAAG members have already shown their commitment to the morality of Wesleyan's investment policy. Receiving tutorial credit for their work, such students could investigate corporations and recommend policies for social action through our investments.

We further suggest that the Trustees use the specific question of Wesleyan's holdings connected to South Africa as a springboard to revising general investment policy. Moral as well as financial considerations should be stressed in this policy. An institution committed to freedom of thought, Wesleyan should extend this commitment to its financial affairs.

Yes For CRSGW

No real student government has existed at Wesleyan since the demise of the Student-Faculty Senate in 1975, and we have felt this lack. As has been noted by the Committee to Restructure in the introduction to their proposal, the current representative organizations have a poor record of "responsiveness and accountability" toward the students.

The Committee's proposal, while not perfect, is far ahead of our present governmental system because it provides for the centralization of student action and responsibility at Wesleyan. Centralizing student authority, it reduces the likelihood that the confusion and divisiveness exhibited by our leaders in the past

few years will occur again in the future.

Two important aspects of the Committee's proposal are worth noting. First, in requiring the election of officers of the new government which does not cater to special interests. It will necessitate more thinking from each voter, and make elections less of a popularity contest. This is good, in that it supports the essential unity of the student body. But the Assembly, if elected, must take care to respect the needs of special groups, such as minority students.

Secondly, the proposal calls for a large number of people to get involved, both as voters and Assembly members. This puts a serious responsibility of all of us. We urge the student body to accept and support the proposal. ■